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DEATH OF KING PHILIP. Page 135.

HISTORY

OF THE

INDIAN WARS



OF THE

UNITED STATES.

INDIAN WARS

OF THE

UNITED STATES,

From the Discovery to the Present Time.

WITH ACCOUNTS OF

THE ORIGIN, MANNERS, SUPERSTITIONS, &c.
OF THE ABORIGINES.

FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES.

BY WILLIAM V. MOORE.

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PREFACE.

IN a general history of the United States, the Indian wars are apt to be passed over rather slightly. The press of other matter leaves little room for the consideration of them; and they appear as detached and unimportant incidents. But when we consider that every inch of the soil, now in possession of the people of this republic, was either purchased or conquered from the aborigines, the means by which this immense acquisition was accomplished must certainly be regarded as highly worthy the attention of history. Nor is this the only reason why this subject should be distinctly treated, and attentively studied, by the people of this country. Our citizens are too apt to forget what their ancestors did and suffered for their good; and the historian should faithfully remind them, as often as occasion may occur, of those times when the rifle was carried to the meadows and the corn-field as a protection to the husbandman; and when the setting sun was the signal for transforming every dwelling-house into a garrisoned castle.

In the hope of calling public attention to this portion of our history, by treating it distinctly and independently, the following work has been composed. It comprises a narrative of all the Indian wars conducted within the territory of the United States, between the aborigines and the European race, from the discovery to the present time—all, which were deemed of sufficient importance, in their nature or results, to claim a place in general history.

In order to bring the annals of so long a period within the compass of a moderate-sized volume, it was necessary to avoid minute details, and to carry the narrative forward with an eye to the general nature and main results of each contest. Still the author hopes that there is enough of individual action and character in the history to interest, without that prolixity which would weary the reader. The general subject is full of interest and instruction, and if the author is deficient in either, it has not been for want of a fertile field of incident, and an infinite variety of characters and actions.

INDIAN WARS

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

INTRODUCTION.

GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA.

ORIGIN.



AT the time when North America was first visited by the Europeans, it was inhabited by many independent savage tribes, who subsisted by hunting, fishing, the spontaneous productions of the earth, and some cultivation of the soil. These tribes commonly lived remote from each other, in the bosom of immense forests; and each claimed an extensive tract of land as its hunting ground.

But the great body of the North American Indians

are evidently of a race different from the Esquimaux, and concerning their origin various opinions have been entertained.

Blome, Adair, and Boudinot, have thought them the descendants of the ten tribes of Israel; others have imagined them the offspring of the Canaanites expelled by Joshua; Grotius, adopting the opinion of Martyr, the companion of Columbus, believed part at least of America to have been peopled by Æthiopians and Christians; and the late ingenious De Witt Clinton, governor of the state of New York, maintained that the American Indians are of Tartar origin; and that, in ages past, they overcame and exterminated a prior race of inhabitants, who had made greater progress in civilization than themselves. But, whatever may be the difficulty of accounting for the ancient fortifications to which this learned writer refers, his opinion seems to rest on no solid foundation; for there is no appearance that, before their intercourse with the Europeans, the Indians had ever seen a people who had attained any considerable degree of improvement.

But to enter into speculations of this kind is not the object of the present work; and it may serve our purpose to allege, in general, that the progenitors of the Indian tribes emigrated from the north-east parts of Asia to the north-west parts of America, and thence gradually spread themselves over that great continent. At what time this emigration began, it is needless to enquire and impossible to ascertain. It is not unreasonable to believe, that families or tribes performed the passage at different periods and at different places Savages are often carried to great distances in their frail barks. The islands of the South Sea, although

widely separated from each other, are mostly inhabited; and the person who thoroughly understands the language of any one island, is seldom at a loss to hold communication with the natives of any other; which proves that those people are all of one common stock, and that the period of their settlement in the islands is not very remote.

In this inquiry, the Indians can give us no assistance; for of their own history, beyond the traditionary records of two or three generations, they know nothing; and the strange notions which some of them entertain of their origin need not surprise us. According to the unambitious belief of the Osages, a people living on the banks of one of the lower tributaries of the Missouri, they are sprung from a snail and a beaver. The Mandans believed their ancestors once lived in a large village under ground, near a subterranean lake; that by means of a vine tree, which extended its roots to their cheerless habitation, they got a glimpse of the light; that informed by some adventurers, who had visited the upper world, of the numerous buffaloes pasturing on the plains, and of the trees loaded with delicious fruits, the whole nation, with one consent, began to ascend the roots of the vine; but that, when about the half of them had reached the surface, a corpulent woman climbing up, broke the roots by her weight; that the earth immediately closed, and concealed for ever from those below, the cheering beams of the sun. From a people who entertain such fanciful notions of their origin, no valuable information concerning their early history can be expected.

The character of man, to a great extent, is formed by the circumstances in which he is placed; and, as all

the North American nations, at the time of their first discovery by Europeans, were in the same savage state, and procured subsistence by similar means, there was a striking uniformity in their appearance, character, manners, customs, and opinions. But, by their intercourse with Europeans, that uniformity has, in some measure, been broken. Many of the tribes have received several articles of merchandise, horses, arms, cloth, culinary utensils, and intoxicating liquors, from their white neighbours or visiters, and this has had some influence on their habits of life.

COLOUR.

The colour of the human race seems to depend on two circumstances, — climate, and manner of life. In general, mankind are of a darker colour as we advance towards the equator, and whiter as we approach the polar regions. The complexion is affected also by tne degree of elevation above the level of the sea. Climate, however, is not the only circumstance on which colour depends: it is determined, in a considerable degree, by the manner of life. In the same parallel of latitude, savages who are almost always in the open air, and who live in a rude and dirty manner, are of a darker complexion than the members of more civilized society.

Both of those causes have operated on the North American Indians. They are all of a red copper colour, with some diversity of shade. The men are tall, large boned, and well made; with small black eyes, lodged in deep sockets, high cheek-bones, nose more or less aquiline, mouth large, lips rather thick, and the hair of the head black, straight, and coarse. In general, they carefully extract the hair of the beard and other

parts of the body, and hence were long believed destitute of that excrescence. The general expression of the countenance is thoughtful and sedate. Formerly some tribes flattened the heads of their infants by artificial pressure; but at present that practice is unknown to the east of the Rocky Mountains. They have a sound understanding, quick apprehension, and retentive memory, with an air of indifference in their general behaviour.

The women, or *squaws*, differ considerably from the men, both in person and features. They are small and short, with homely, broad faces; but have often an expression of mildness and sweetness in their looks.

EMPLOYMENTS AND DRESS.

Except when engaged in war, hunting and fishing are the sole employment of the men. By means of these, by the spontaneous productions of the earth, and by a partial cultivation of the soil, they procure a precarious subsistence; feasting freely when successful in the chase, but capable of great abstinence when provisions are less plentiful.

Some of the tribes, when first visited by Europeans, raised considerable crops; and they taught the early settlers in New England to plant and dress maize. At present several nations cultivate maize, beans, pumpkins, and water-melons; and in this way considerably increase their means of subsistence.

Hunting, war, the desire of revenge, or the love of amusement, are the usual incitements of the men to action. Subjected to much fatigue and many privations, exposed to continual dangers, and under perpetual apprehensions of being attacked by his enemies, the Indian

has little gaiety in his character. He is rather gloomy and silent. Grave in his whole deportment, he seldom opens his mouth but to utter what he deems important. He is sagacious and penetrating; and his observations are often rational and shrewd. He will smile, but rarely laughs; and never indulges in playful sallies, or unnecessary remarks, merely for the sake of talking. He generally speaks in a low tone of voice, and employs few words, except in council, where his elocution is loud, rapid, and vehement. The young men not unfrequently engage keenly in games and amusements. In general, the Indians are cool and circumspect, with much apparent apathy.

The *squaw* is often a perfect contrast to her partner. She is sprightly in her demeanour, and her countenance is enlivened by a pleasant smile. Her risibility is easily excited, and she is not deficient in prattling loquacity.

The sight, smell, and hearing of the Indians, being frequently and attentively exercised, are all remarkably acute. They can trace the footsteps of man or beast through the forest, and over the plain and mountain, where an inexperienced eye cannot discern the slightest vestige. They can often judge, with much accuracy, how many persons have been in the company, how long it is since they passed, and even, at times, to what nation they belonged. They can pursue their course through the pathless forest, or over the snowy mountain, with undeviating certainty; and are guided by marks which entirely escape the notice of an European.

Strangers to letters, and untutored by learning, their passions, which are little curbed by parental authority, grow up wild and unpruned, like the trees of their na-

tive forests. They are fickle and capricious; irascible and impetuous; kind to their friends, vindictive and cruel towards their enemies; and in order to execute their revenge, they readily exercise dissimulation and deceit, and shrink from no toil or danger. Their distinguishing qualities are strength, cunning, and ferocity; and as war is their first employment, so bravery is their first virtue.

The ancient weapon of the hunter was the bow and arrow; but many of them have now procured muskets. Their dress differs considerably in different tribes. It consisted originally of skins; but many of them are now provided with blankets and different kinds of cloth. The dress of the Konzas, a tribe on the Missouri, may serve as a sample. They protect their feet with *moccasins*, or shoes made of dressed deer, elk, or buffalo skin: *leggins* of deer-skin reach to the upper part of the thigh: a *breech-cloth* passes between the legs, and is attached to a girdle fastened round the loins. A blanket or skin covers the upper part of the body; but in warm weather it is laid aside. In some tribes the hair is allowed to flow loosely over the face and shoulders; in others it is carefully braided, knotted, and ornamented, and is always well greased. In many cases the head is bare, both in summer and winter; but in others, both men and women wear a cap like an inverted bowl. The men have also a war cap, which they put on as a symbol of mourning, or when preparing for battle. It is commonly decorated with the feathers of rare birds, or with the claws of beavers or eagles, or other similar ornaments. A quill or feather is also suspended from it for every enemy that the warrior has slain in battle. They often suspend from their ears wampum beads,

silver and tin trinkets, and they are fond of bracelets and rings. The face and body are often besmeared with a mixture of grease and coal. They are very attentive to personal decoration; and vermilion is an important article at their toilet. The faces of the men are painted with more care than those of the women; and the latter have more pride in adorning the countenances of their husbands than their own. A tobacco pouch, attached to the girdle or carried in the hand, is a usual part of their equipment. The women's dress is partly like that of the men; but their leggins only reach to the knee; they have sleeveless shifts, which come down to the ankle, and a mantle covers all.

On the north-west coast of America, between 52° and 53° north latitude, the dress of the natives consists of a single robe, tied over the shoulders, falling down to the heels behind, and a little below the knee before, with a deep fringe round the bottom. It is generally made of the bark of the cedar tree, spun like hemp. Some of those garments are interwoven with stripes of the sea-otter's skin, which gives them the appearance of fur on one side: others have stripes of red and yellow threads fancifully introduced towards the borders, which produce a very agreeable effect. The men have no other covering, and they unceremoniously lay it aside whenever it suits their convenience to do so. Besides the robe, the women have a close fringe hanging down before them, and they cut their hair so short that it needs little care or combing: the men have theirs in plaits, smeared with grease and red earth, and, instead of a comb, they have a small stick, suspended by a string from one of the locks, which they employ to alleviate any itching or irritation of the head.

DWELLINGS, FURNITURE, AND FOOD.

The *wigwams*, tents, or lodges of the Indians are differently constructed in different nations. The rudest are formed of branches resting against each other at the top, covered with leaves or grass, and forming a very imperfect shelter against the weather. The nations on the west of the Rocky Mountains have houses formed of a frame of sticks, covered with mats and dried grass. Many tribes erect long poles, in a circular form at the bottom, and resting against each other at the top, which they cover with skins: others have oblong lodges, consisting of a wooden frame, covered with grass mats and earth. The light is admitted by a small door, and by an aperture in the top, which serves also for the escape of the smoke. The fire is in the middle of the lodge, and the family sit round it on the bare ground; but they spread a skin for a stranger. They readily kindle a fire by rapidly turning one piece of smooth wood upon another; but in the vicinity of Europeans, they are now generally provided with flint and steel. On the north-west coast, some tribes live in houses considerably elevated above the ground, and supported by upright posts.

Their scanty and simple furniture and culinary utensils are suited to their humble dwellings and homely manner of life. A kettle, a wooden bowl, a couple of wooden or horn spoons, a few skins for beds and covers, and a buffalo's stomach for carrying water, are the chief articles of domestic accommodation. Formerly they used earthen pots; but these are now generally superseded by metallic pots or kettles, purchased from the white traders. Some of the tribes on the

north-west of Lake Superior, cook their victuals in vessels made of *watape*, the name given to the split roots of the spruce fir. These they weave so closely as to contain water, which they raise to the boiling point by putting into it a succession of heated stones.

Many of the tribes are strangers to bread and salt. Besides fruits and roots, they feed on the flesh of the animals they kill, boiled or roasted. In travelling, *pemmican* is their favourite food. It consists of flesh cut into thin slices, dried in the sun or over a slow fire, beat to a coarse powder between two stones, and then carefully packed up. In different nations it is known by different names.

Among the tribes who practise cultivation, maize is sometimes roasted in the ashes, and sometimes bruised and boiled, and is then called *hominey*. They also boil and eat wild rice, which grows in considerable quantities in some parts of the country. They have no fixed time for meals, but eat when they are hungry. They present food to a stranger, at what time soever he enters their dwelling.

MARRIAGE AND EDUCATION.

Polygamy is not uncommon among them; and the husband occasionally finds it necessary to administer a little wholesome castigation to his more quarrelsome or refractory squaws. But many are satisfied with one wife. The care of the tent and the whole drudgery of the family devolve on the women. They gather fuel, cook the provisions, and repair every article of dress; cultivate the ground, where any is cultivated; carry the baggage on a journey; and pitch the tent when they halt. In these and similar employments,

their lordly fathers, husbands, and brothers, think it degrading to assist them, and unworthy of warriors to engage in such employments.

Mr. Catlin, whose long residence among the Indians, and careful observation of their habits, entitle his opinion to great respect, regards this assignment of drudgery to the women as no more than an equitable distribution of the labour necessary to the support of the household. He considers the toils of war and the chase, which are almost incessant, and are solely performed by the men, as a complete offset to the domestic and agricultural cares of the women. On the whole he thinks that the condition of the Indian women is as comfortable as it is possible to render it by any arrangement which would not completely change their mode of life. To withdraw the men from the chase and confine them to the culture of the ground, would render the Indians an agricultural and not a hunting people. Still the condition of the Indian woman is a miserable and degraded one,—a condition of incessant labour and care.

In none of the tribes do the women experience much tenderness; but among the Sioux they are so harshly treated, that they occasionally destroy their female infants, alleging that it is better for them to be put to death than to live as miserably as they themselves have done. Even suicide is not uncommon among them, although they believe it offensive to the Father of Life.

The Indians never chastise their children, especially the boys; thinking that it would damp their spirits, check their love of independence, and cool their martial ardour, which they wish above all things to encourage. "Reason," say they, "will guide our children, when

they come to the use of it; and before that, their faults cannot be very great." They avoid compulsory measures, and allow the boys to act with uncontrolled freedom; but endeavour, by example, instruction, and advice, to train them to diligence and skill in hunting; to animate them with patience, courage, and fortitude in war; and to inspire them with contempt of danger, pain, and death, — qualities of the highest order in the estimation of an Indian.

By gentleness and persuasion they endeavour to imbue the minds of their children with virtuous sentiments, according to their notions of virtue. The aged chiefs are zealous in this patriotic labour, and the squaws give their cordial co-operation.

Ishuchenau, an old Kanza warrior, often admonished the group of young auditors who gathered around him, of their faults, and exhorted them never to tell a lie, and never to steal, except from an enemy, whom it is just to injure in every possible way. "When you become men," said he, "be brave and cunning in war, and defend your hunting grounds against all encroachments: never suffer your squaws and little ones to want; protect them and strangers from insult. On no occasion betray a friend; be revenged on your enemies; drink not the poisonous strong water of the white people, for it is sent by the bad spirit to destroy the Indians. Fear not death; none but cowards fear to die. Obey and venerate old people, particularly your parents. Fear and propitiate the bad spirit, that he may do you no harm: love and adore the Good Spirit, who made us all, who supplies our hunting grounds, and keeps all alive." After recounting his achievements, he was wont to add, "Like a decayed prairie tree, I stand

alone: — the friends of my youth, the companions of my sports, my toils, and my dangers, rest their heads on the bosom of our mother. My sun is fast descending behind the western hills, and I feel it will soon be night with me." Then with hands and eyes lifted towards heaven, he thanked the Great Spirit for having spared him so long, to show the young men the true path to glory and fame.

Their opinions, in many instances, are false, and lead to corresponding errors in conduct. In some tribes, the young person is taught to pray, with various superstitious observances, that he may be a great hunter, horse-stealer, and warrior; so that thus the fountain of virtue is polluted.

The Indians are entirely unacquainted with letters; but they have a kind of picture writing, which they practise on the inside of the bark of trees, or on skins prepared for the purpose, and by which they can communicate the knowledge of many facts to each other.

The Indian names are descriptive of the real or supposed qualities of the persons to whom they belong: they often change them in the course of their lives. The young warrior is ambitious of acquiring a new name; and stealing a horse, scalping an enemy, or killing a bear, is an achievement which entitles him to choose one for himself, and the nation confirms it.

The Indian women are industrious wives and affectionate mothers. They are attentive to the comfort of their husbands, watch over their children with the utmost care and tenderness; and if they die, lament the loss in the most affecting manner.

Chastity is not reckoned a virtue; and, as the women are considered the property of the men, a deviation

from it, with the consent of the father, husband, or brother, is not looked on as an offence. Nay, to countenance their wives, sisters, or daughters, in conferring favours on strangers, is considered a strong expression of hospitality; and the refusal of the proffered kindness is regarded by the lady as an unpardonable insult. But some husbands, on discovering unauthorized conjugal infidelity, punish it with severity; others treat it very lightly.

The Indians are kind and hospitable to their friends, and to those who are introduced to them in that character. Although they themselves sit on the bare ground, yet they courteously spread a buffalo skin for their visiter; smoke a pipe with him in token of peace and amity; and the squaw prepares something for him to eat. They have little selfishness, and are ready to share their last morsel with their friends.

MEDICINE AND SORCERY.

They are immoderately addicted to intoxicating liquors, which they procure from the white traders, and which have been the means of destroying multitudes of them. Before their intercourse with white men they had no intoxicating beverage; and, excepting the liquor which they procure from the merchants, their meals are temperate, and their habits of life active. Their diseases are few, and seldom of long duration. Many of them fall in battle; and multitudes are occasionally swept away by small-pox. To the healing art they are in a great measure strangers; although, by means of simples, they in some instances perform surprising cures. In general, however, these pretenders to medical skill are mere quacks and jugglers, who affect to chase

away disease by howling, blowing on the patient, and by various incantations, sleight-of-hand performances, and superstitious rites.

Some of their medicine-men or conjurors, who are their only doctors, pretend to have seen the Great Spirit, and to have conversed with him in some visible form, as of a buffalo, beaver, or other animal; and to have received from him some medicine of peculiar efficacy. The animal whose form had appeared is considered to be the remedy; and they imitate its cry in making their medical applications. The medicine bag, in which these savage physicians have a few herbs, entire or pulverized, and which they administer with a little warm water, is an indispensable requisite in Indian medical practice. Indeed, the head of every family has his medicine bag, which is a place of sacred deposit, and to the sanctity of which he commits his most precious articles. The value of its contents an Indian only can appreciate.

In every stage of society, persons appear who accommodate themselves to the state of the public mind. Of this description are the jugglers, conjurors, or powahs, among the ignorant and superstitious Indians. They are partly medical quacks, partly religious impostors. Many of them are dexterous jugglers and cunning cheats. They pretend to foretell future events, and even to influence the weather. It is likely that they are often, in some measure, the dupes of their own artifices.

The sweating-houses of the Indians are often employed for medical purposes, although they are places of social recreation also. A hole is dug in the ground, and over it is built a small close hut, with an opening

just large enough to admit the patient. A number of heated stones are placed in the bottom of the hole. The patient enters, having a vessel full of water along with him; and being seated on a place prepared for his reception, the entrance is closed. He sprinkles water on the heated stones, and is soon, by the steam, thrown into a state of profuse perspiration. After this has continued for some time, the person is taken out and plunged into cold water. This process is repeated several times, always ending with the steam-bath. The Indians use this as a general remedy; but its salutary effects are experienced chiefly in rheumatic diseases, in which its efficacy is at times very great.

The Indians bear disease with composure and resignation; and when far advanced in life, often long for the hour of dissolution. "It is better," said an aged sachem, "to sit than to stand, to sleep than to be awake, to be dead than alive." The dying man exhorts his children to be industrious, kind to their friends, but implacable to their enemies. He rejoices in the hope of immortality. He is going to the land of spirits, that happy place where there is plenty of game and no want, — where the path is smooth and the sky clear.

BURIAL CEREMONIES, MOURNING, &c.

When the sick person expires, the friends assemble round the body, the women weep and clap their hands, and bewail their loss with loud lamentations. Different nations dispose of the bodies of departed friends, and express their grief, in different ways. Many Indian tribes bury their dead soon after death. They wrap up the body carefully in a buffalo robe, or dressed skin, and carry it to the grave on the shoulders of two or three

men. Along with the body they bury a pair or two of moccasins, some meat, and other articles, to be used on the journey to the town of brave spirits, which they generally believe lies towards the setting sun. The favourite weapons and utensils of the warrior are also deposited by his side. It is believed that unless this be done, the spirit of the deceased appears among the trees near his lodge, and does not go to its rest till the property withheld be committed to the grave. In some places they discharge muskets, make a noise, and violently strike the trees, in order to drive away the spirit, which they imagine fondly lingers near its old abode. A mound is sometimes raised over the grave, proportioned in size to the dignity of the deceased; or the place is marked out and secured by short sticks driven into the ground over and around it. Some of those graves are commonly near each of their villages.

The tribes on the Columbia construct long narrow sheds, in which they deposit the dead, carefully wrapped up in skins, and covered with mats. The Killamucks, a tribe living near the shore of the Pacific Ocean, on the south of the Columbia, inclose their dead in an oblong wooden box, which they place in an open canoe, lying on the ground, with a paddle and some other articles of the deceased by his side. The Chinooks, Clatsops, and neighbouring nations, support the canoe on posts, about six feet from the ground, and reverse a larger canoe over it. The whole is wrapped up in mats made of rushes, and fastened with cords, usually made of the bark of white cedar. But instead of laying the body in a box like the Killamucks, they roll it carefully in a dressed skin. Vancouver saw canoes, containing dead bodies, suspended from the branches of trees,

about twelve feet from the ground. The Chopunnish, a tribe living on the western side of the Rocky Mountains, lay their dead in burying places constructed of boards, like the roof of a house. The bodies are rolled in skins, laid over each other, and separated by a board above and below. They devote horses, canoes, and other kinds of property, to the dead. Carver mentions some tribes on the St. Peter's which annually carry their dead for interment to a cave on the banks of the Mississippi. It appears that some others occasionally burn the dead, or at least the flesh, and afterwards bury the bones.

On the death of a relation, the survivors give way to excessive grief, bedaub themselves with white clay, blacken their faces, cut off their hair, and not unfrequently mangle themselves in a shocking manner, thrusting knives or arrows into the muscular parts of their thighs or arms, or cutting off a joint of one of their fingers. For a while they nightly repair to the place of sepulture to give expression to their grief; and may occasionally be seen affectionately plucking the grass from the grave of a deceased relation or friend.

Among those tribes in the extreme northern parts of the continent, where provisions are scarce, and procured with difficulty, it is not uncommon for an aged person, who is unable to provide for himself, to request his family to put him to death; and the request is complied with, or he is treated with much neglect. But this unnatural conduct results entirely from the pressure of circumstances, and the privations and sufferings to which those poor people are exposed; for in more favourable situations they behave towards the aged and infirm with respect and tenderness.

RELIGION.

Of the religion of the Indians we have no full and clear account. Indeed, of the opinions of a people who have nothing more than a few vague and indefinite notions, no distinct explanation can be given. On this subject the Indians are not communicative; and to obtain a thorough knowledge of it would require familiar, attentive, unsuspected, and unprejudiced observation. But such observation is not easily made; and a few general, and on some points uncertain, notices only can be given.

On looking at the most renowned nations of the ancient heathen world, we see the people prostrating themselves before innumerable divinities; and we are ready to conclude that polytheism is the natural belief of man, unenlightened by revelation. But a survey of the vast wilds of America will correct this opinion. For there we find a multitude of nations, widely separated from each other, all believing in One Supreme God, a great and good spirit, the father and master of life, the maker of heaven and earth, and of all other creatures. They believe themselves entirely dependent on him, thank him for present enjoyments, and pray to him for the good things they desire to obtain. They consider him the author of all good; and believe he will reward or punish them according to their deeds.

They believe in inferior spirits also, both good and bad; to whom, particularly to the good, they give the name of *Manitou*, and consider them tutelary spirits. The Indians are careful observers of dreams, and think themselves deserted by the Master of life, till they receive a manitou in a dream; that is, till they dream of

some object, as a buffalo or beaver, or something else, which they think is an intimation that the Great Spirit has given them that object as a manitou, or medicine. Then they are full of courage, and proud of their powerful ally. To propitiate the manitou, or medicine, every exertion is made, and every personal consideration sacrificed. "I was lately the proprietor of seventeen horses," said a Mandan; "but I have offered them all to my medicine, and am now poor." He had turned all these horses, which constituted the whole of his wealth, loose into the plain, committed them to his medicine, and abandoned them for ever. But, although they offer oblations to the manitous, they positively deny that they pay them any adoration, and affirm that they only worship the Great Spirit through them.

They have no regular periodical times either of private or public religious worship. They have neither temples, altars, stated ministers of religion, nor regular sacrifices; for the jugglers are connected rather with the medical art than with religious services. The Indians in general, like other ignorant people, are believers in witchcraft, and think many of their diseases proceed from the arts of sorcerers. These arts the jugglers pretend to counteract, as well as to cure natural diseases. They also pretend to predict the weather and to make rain; and much confidence is placed in their prognostications and their power.

The devotional exercises of the Indians consist in singing, dancing, and performing various mystical ceremonies, which they believe efficacious in healing the sick, frustrating the designs of their enemies, and securing their own success. They often offer up to the Great Spirit a part of the game first taken in a hunting

expedition, a part of the first produce of their fields, and a part of their food. At a feast, they first throw some of the broth, and then of the meat, into the fire. In smoking, they generally testify their reverence for the Master of life, by directing the first puff upwards, and the second downwards, or the first to the rising, and the second to the setting sun: at other times they turn the pipe to every point of the compass.

They firmly believe in the immortality of the soul, and in a state of future retribution: but their conceptions on these subjects are modified and tinged by their occupations in life, and by their notions of good and evil. They suppose the spirit retains the same inclinations as when in the body, and rejoices in its old pursuits. At times, an Indian warrior, when about to kill and scalp a prostrate enemy, addresses him in such terms as the following:—

"My name is Cashegra: I am a famous warrior, and am going to kill you. When you reach the land of spirits, you will see the ghost of my father: tell him it was Cashegra sent you there." The uplifted tomahawk then descends upon his victim.

The *Mandans expected, when they died, to return to the original subterraneous abode of their fathers: the good reaching the ancient village by means of the lake, which the weight of the sins of the bad will render them unable to pass. They who have behaved themselves well in this life, and been brave warriors and good hunters, will be received into the town of brave and generous spirits; but the useless and selfish will

*The Mandan tribe is now entirely extinct.—*Catlin.*

be doomed to reside in the town of poor and useless spirits.

The belief of those untutored children of nature has an influence on their conduct. Among them the grand defect is, an erroneous estimate of good and evil, right and wrong. But how much soever we may lament their errors on these interesting points, we need not be surprised at them; for how many, even in more enlightened communities, and with clearer means of information, can scarcely be said to have sounder principles, or a better practice? A reverential and grateful sense of the divine perfections and government, manifesting itself by a devout regard to his institutions, and obedience to his will, by benevolence, integrity, candour, and kindness towards men, and by sobriety and industry, is too little valued and practised by many who enjoy the light of revelation. Hitherto the Indians have learned little but vice by their intercourse with white men.

Although they have no regular system of religious worship, yet they have many superstitious notions; some of them of a more general, others of a more local nature. The Mandans had their medicine stone, which was their great oracle; and they believed with implicit confidence whatever it announced. Every spring, and occasionally during summer, a deputation, accompanied by jugglers, magicians, or conjurors, visited the sacred spot, where there is a large stone, about twenty feet in circumference, with a smooth surface: there the deputies smoked, taking a few whiffs themselves, and then ceremoniously offering the pipe to the stone. They left their presents, and withdrew to some distance during the night. Before morning the presents disappeared, the Great Spirit having, according to their belief, taken

them away; and they read the destinies of their nation in some marks on the stone, which the jugglers, who made them, and secretly managed the whole transaction, could easily decipher. The Minnetarees have also a stone of the same kind.

On the northern bank of the lower part of the Missouri there is a singular range of rocks, rising almost perpendicularly about 200 or 300 feet above the level of the river. These rocks the Indians call *Manitou;* and on or near them the neighbouring nations deposit most of their offerings to the Great Spirit or Father of Life; because they imagine he either inhabits or frequently visits those rocks, and offerings presented there will sooner attract his notice and gain his favour than any where else. Those offerings consist of various articles, among which eagles' feathers are held in highest estimation; and they are presented in order to obtain success in war or hunting.

They believe also in the existence of evil spirits; but think these malevolent beings gratify their malignity chiefly by driving away the game, preventing the efficacy of medicine, or similar injuries. But they do not always confine their operations to such petty mischiefs; for Mackenzie, in his first voyage, was warned of a *manitou*, or spirit, behind a neighbouring island, which swallowed up every person who approached it: and, near the White Stone river of the Missouri there is an oblong mound, about seventy feet high, called by the Indians the Mountain of Little people, or Little Spirits, which are supposed to be malignant beings in human shape, about eighteen inches high, with remarkably large heads. They are provided with sharp arrows, in the use of which they are very expert; and they are

always on the watch to kill those who approach the mountain of their residence. The tradition is that many persons have fallen victims to their malevolence; and such is the terror of them among the neighbouring nations, that on no consideration will they approach the mound.

GOVERNMENT.

Among the Indians, society is in the loosest state in which it can possibly exist. They have no regular magistrates, no laws, no tribunals, to protect the weak or punish the guilty. Every man must assert his own rights, and avenge his own wrongs. He is neither restrained nor protected by any thing but a sense of shame, and the approbation or disapprobation of his tribe. He acknowledges no master, and submits to no superior authority; so that an Indian community seems like a mound of sand on the sea-shore, which one gale has accumulated, and which the next may disperse.

But, amid this apparent disunion, the Indian is strongly attached to his nation. He is jealous of its honour, proud of its success, and zealous for its welfare. Guided by a few traditionary notions, and by the opinion and example of those around him, he is ready to exert all his energies, and sacrifice even life itself for his country. Here sentiment and habit do more than wise laws can elsewhere accomplish.

Where all are equally poor, the distinctions founded on wealth cannot exist; and among a people where experience is the only source of knowledge, the aged men are naturally the sages of the nation. Surrounded by enemies, and exposed to continual peril, the strongest, boldest, and most successful warrior, is highly respected; and the influence gained in youth by courage and enter-

prise is often retained in old age by wisdom and eloquence. In many of the tribes, the *sachems* or chiefs have a sort of hereditary rank; but, in order to maintain it, they must conciliate the good will of the most influential persons of the community. They have nothing like monarchial revenues, pomp, or authority; but maintain their distinction by bravery, good conduct, and generosity.

The most important concerns of the tribe are discussed in a council composed of the chiefs and warriors, in which the principal chief presides. Every member delivers his opinion with freedom, and is heard with attention. Their proceedings are considered sacred, and are kept a profound secret, unless it be thought the public good requires a disclosure. In that case the decision, with the reasons on which it is founded, is published by a member of the council, who recommends a compliance with it. In the stillness of the morning or evening this herald marches through the village, solemnly communicating the information, and giving suitable exhortations. He also instructs the young men and children how to behave, in order to gain the esteem of good men, and the approbation of the Good Spirit.

The authority of the chiefs and warriors is hortatory rather than coercive. They have influence to persuade, but not power to compel. They are rather respected as parents and friends, than feared and obeyed as superiors. The chief is merely the most confidential person among the warriors; neither installed with any ceremony, nor distinguished by any badge. He may recommend, or advise, or influence; but he has no power to enforce his commands, or to punish disobedience. In many of the tribes he gradually acquires his rank by his own supe-

rior merit, and the good opinion of his companions, and he may lose his authority as he gained it.

The people commonly settle their controversies among themselves, and do not apply to their chiefs, except for advice. In some of the tribes peace is preserved, and punishment inflicted in a very summary manner by officers appointed by the chief for that purpose. These officers are distinguished by having their bodies blackened, and by having two or three ravens' skins fixed in their girdles behind, so that the tails project horizontally. They have also a raven's skin, with the tail projecting from their forehead. These officers, of whom there are two or three in a village, and who are frequently changed, beat any person whom they find acting in a disorderly manner. Their authority is held sacred, and none dares resist them. They often attend the chief, and consider it a point of honour to execute his orders at any risk.

ELOQUENCE.

The eloquence of the Indian orators occasionally displays itself in strong and figurative expressions, accompanied with violent but not unnatural gesticulations. Many of their speeches are on record; and we shall give two of them, as a specimen of the manner in which these untaught children of nature express themselves.

The first is that of Logan. In the year 1774, the family of Logan, a distinguished chief, who had always been friendly to white men, was inhumanly massacred by a detachment of Virginia militia, acting under British authority. Logan was highly exasperated, and joined the hostile tribes. The Indians were defeated, and compelled to sue for peace. But Logan scorned to be seen among the suppliants. Lest, however, the sincerity of a

treaty from which such an eminent chief absented himself should be suspected, he sent the following speech, by general Gibson, to Lord Dunmore, governor of the province:—"I appeal to any white man to say if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him no meat; if ever he came cold and naked and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his lodge, the advocate of peace. Such was my love of the whites, that my countrymen pointed at me as they passed, and said, 'Logan is the friend of white men.' I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Last spring, colonel Cresap, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not sparing even my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not think mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. Logan will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn the death of Logan? Not one."

The second speech is that of a Pawnee chief, named Sharitarouish; and we introduce it merely because it is recent, having been addressed to the president of the United States, in council, on the 4th of February, 1822; and because the chief who delivered it, on account of his remote situation, could have had little intercourse with white men, having been, along with other chiefs, conducted from the banks of the Platte to Washington, by major O'Fallon, agent of the States among the Indians of the Missouri. He spoke to the president as follows:—

"My great father, I have travelled a great way to see you: I have seen you, and my heart rejoices. I have heard your words: they have entered one ear, and shall not escape by the other. I will carry them to my people as pure as they came from your mouth.

"My great father, I am going to speak the truth. The Great Spirit looks down upon us; and I call him to witness all that may pass between us on this occasion. If I am here now, and have seen your people, your houses, your vessels on the big lake, and a great many wonderful things, far beyond my comprehension, which appear to have been made by the Great Spirit, and placed in your hands, I am indebted to my father here, (pointing to major O'Fallon,) who invited me from home, and under whose wings I have been protected. Yes, my great father, I have travelled with your chief; I have followed him, and trodden in his tracks. But there is still another great Father, to whom I am much indebted. He is the Father of us all. He made us, and placed us on this earth. I feel grateful to the Great Spirit for strengthening my heart for such an undertaking, and for preserving the life which he gave me. The Great Spirit made us all. He made my skin red, and yours white. He placed us on this earth, and intended that we should live differently from each other. He made the whites to cultivate the earth, and feed on domestic animals; but he made us red skins to rove through the uncultivated woods and plains, to feed on wild animals, and to clothe ourselves with their skins. He intended also that we should go to war, take scalps, steal horses from our enemies, and triumph over them, and that we should cultivate peace at home, and promote the happiness of each other. I believe there are

no people, of any colour, on earth, who do not believe in the Great Spirit, and in rewards and punishments. We worship HIM: but we worship him not as you do. We differ from you in appearance and manners, as well as in our customs; and we differ from you in our religion. We have no large houses, as you have, to worship the Great Spirit in. If we had them to-day, we should want them to-morrow; for we have not, like you, a fixed habitation. We have no settled home, except our villages, where we remain but two moons in twelve. We, like the animals, rove through the country; while you whites reside between us and heaven. But still, my great father, we love the Great Spirit; we acknowledge his supreme power. Our peace, health, and happiness depend upon him; and our lives belong to him. He made us, and he can destroy us.

"My great father, some of your good chiefs, as they are called (the missionaries), have proposed to send some of their good people among us, to change our habits, to make us work, and live like the white people. I will not tell a lie; I am going to speak the truth. You love your country; you love your people; you love the manner in which they live: and you think your people brave. I am like you, my great father: I love my country; I love my people; I love the manner in which we live; and I think myself and my warriors brave. Spare me, then, my father; let me enjoy my country, and pursue the buffalo and the beaver, and other wild animals; and with their skins I will trade with your people. I have grown up, and lived thus long, without working: I hope you will suffer me to die without it. We have plenty of buffalo, beaver, deer, and other wild animals; we have also abundance of horses; we have every thing

we want; we have plenty of land, if you will keep your people off it. My father (Major O'Fallon) has a piece of land, on which he lives (Council Bluffs), and we wish him to enjoy it: we have enough without it. We wish him to live near us, to give us good counsel, to keep our ears and eyes open, that we may continue to pursue the right road, the road to happiness. He settles all differences between us and the whites, and between the red skins themselves. He makes the red skins do justice to the whites; he saves the effusion of human blood; and preserves peace and happiness in the land. You have already sent us a father. It is enough. He knows us, and we know him; we have confidence in him; we keep our eye constantly upon him; and since we have heard your words we will listen more attentively to his.

"It is too soon, my great father, to send these good men among us. We are not starving yet; we wish you to permit us to enjoy the chase until the game of our country be exhausted; until the wild animals become extinct. Let us exhaust our present resources, before you make us toil and interrupt our happiness. Let me continue to live as I have done; and after I have passed to the Good or Evil Spirit from off the wilderness of my present life, the subsistence of my children may become so precarious as to need and embrace the assistance of those good people.

"There was a time when we did not know the whites. Our wants were then fewer than they are now; they were always within our control; we had seen nothing which we could not get. Before our intercourse with the whites, who have caused such a destruction in our game, we could lie down to sleep,

and when we awoke, we found the buffalo feeding round our camp: but now we kill them for their skins, and feed the wolves with their flesh, to make our children cry over their bones.

"Here, my great father, is a pipe, which I present you, as I am accustomed to present pipes to all the red skins in peace with us. It is filled with such tobacco as we were accustomed to smoke before we knew the white people. It is pleasant, and the spontaneous growth of the most remote parts of our country. I know that the robes, leggins, moccasins, bear-claws, and other articles, are of little value to you; but we wish you to deposit and preserve them in some conspicuous part of your lodge, so that when we are gone and the sod turned over our bones, if our children should visit this place, as we do now, they may see and recognise with pleasure the deposits of their fathers, and reflect on the times that are past."

WAR, CUSTOMS, ARMS, &c.

The form of government among the Indian tribes is not sufficiently strong to restrain the young warriors from the commission of excesses and outrages, which often involve the nation in protracted wars; and the chiefs, desirous as they may be of checking those impetuous and refractory spirits, have not the power.

Their wars most commonly originate in the stealing of horses, or in the elopement of squaws; sometimes in encroachments on their hunting grounds, or in the prosecution of old quarrels, and the desire of avenging the murder of relations. These wars are conducted in a predatory manner.

A single warrior sometimes undertakes an expedition against the enemy; but, in cases of great provocation, the whole tribe engages in the enterprise, under the conduct of the principal chief. Even in this case, however, none but volunteers join the army: no one is obliged to march against his will.

War is often carried on by a small predatory party, formed by the influence of some approved warrior. This warrior paints himself with white clay, and marches through the village, crying aloud to the *Wahconda*, or *Father of life*, and entreating the young warriors of the nation to have pity on him, and to accompany him in an expedition against their enemies. He gives a feast to those who are willing to follow him; and it is distinctly understood that they who partake of his hospitality, pledge themselves to be partners in his enterprise. At the feast, he harangues them, and tells them they must gain celebrity by their martial prowess. This leader of the party, to whom the French gave the name of partisan, busies himself, before setting out, in making medicine, hanging out his medicine bag, fasting, attending to his dreams, and other superstitious observances. On the medicine bag much reliance is placed for the successful termination of the adventure. It usually contains the skin of a sparrow-hawk, and a number of small articles, such as wampum beads and tobacco, all attached to a belt, neatly enveloped in bark, and tied round with strings of the same material. It is of a cylindrical shape, about one, or sometimes two feet long, and is suspended on the back of the partisan by its belt, which passes round his neck. The moccasins, leggins, and arms of the party are put in order,

and each warrior furnishes himself with some provisions.

With the partisan at their head, the party set out, march cautiously, following each other in a line, at a distance of two or three paces, often treading in each other's footsteps, that their number may not be discovered; and they send out spies to explore their route. They easily find out whether any persons have lately passed the same way, by discerning their footsteps on the grass; and as they have to deal with people whose organs of sense are as acute as their own, they are careful, as far as possible, to conceal their own tracks. On halting, the medicine bag is not allowed to touch the ground, but is suspended on a forked stick, firmly fixed in the earth for that purpose. They smoke to it, occasionally turning the stem of the pipe towards it, towards the heavens, and towards the earth. The partisan carefully attends to his dreams, and, if he think them ominous of evil, he at times abandons the enterprise.

When the spies bring information that they are near the enemy, the partisan opens his medicine bag, removes its barky envelope, and suspends the contents from his neck, with the bird skin, wampum, and other articles, hanging down on his breast. This is the signal to prepare for action. If they have time, they paint themselves, and smoke; they also paint their shields with rude representations of the objects on which they rely for success. The partisan gives the order to advance, and they move on with cautious steps, as their great aim is to fall upon the enemy by surprise. If they succeed in this, the attack begins with the horrible yell of the war whoop. This is their only martial music.

They kill indiscriminately all who fall in their way; but if discovered, they either make a hasty retreat, or rush to the attack with impetuous but disorderly fury. If in the forest, they shelter themselves behind trees; if on open ground, they leap nimbly from side to side, to prevent the enemy from taking a steady aim, and cover themselves with their bucklers.

It is not the mere killing of an enemy that confers the highest honour on an Indian warrior, but the striking the body of his fallen foe on the field of battle, and in presence of his friends, who are eager to avenge his death. Scalping is an act of no small celebrity in Indian warfare; and, in performing it, the victor sets one foot on the neck of his dead or disabled enemy, entwines one hand in his hair, and, by a few slashes of the scalping-knife in his other, round the top of the head, is enabled to pull off the skin with the hair. Carrying away the scalp is simply a mark of victory: the taking of prisoners is reckoned a high honour.

The wounded of the vanquished party are killed by the conquerors on the field of battle, and their bodies shockingly mangled; the squaws so far overcoming by habit the tender feelings of the female breast as to take an active part in the inhuman scene.

In his lodge, the Indian is indolent, sedate, and apparently callous; but in hunting, or in quest of an enemy, he is keen, indefatigable, persevering: on the field of battle he seems an infuriated demon: so different are his appearances in different circumstances. The victorious party bury their dead, or cover them with bushes or stones. They remove their wounded in litters, borne on men's shoulders; or, if they have horses, on a car of two shafts, with a buffalo skin stretched between

them. They return rapidly to their village, and commonly halt on some elevated ground in its vicinity Their friends, eager to be informed of the particulars of the expedition, hasten to meet them. The party enters the village with savage pomp, ostentatiously exhibiting the scalps which they have taken raised on poles. Many of the warriors bear the mark indicative of having drunk the blood of an enemy. This consists in rubbing the hand all over with vermilion, and then pressing it on the face and mouth, so as to leave a complete impression. On those occasions, the wives of the warriors who have been engaged in the enterprise attire themselves in the dress of their husbands, and, with rods in their hands, to which the scalps that have been taken are attached, dance round a large red post, and, in concert with the young warriors, sing the war and scalp songs. This barbarous dance, which is repeated every night for some weeks, is charming to the squaws; a circumstance which shows how far the human character may be perverted by fashion and habit.

The Indians dance and sing at the same time: they have, however, but little grace or variety in their movements, and little music in their notes. Their musical instruments are a sort of drum, and a rattle or skin bag, with small shot or pebbles in it, which makes a noise when shaken.

It is dangerous to meet a disappointed or defeated war party on its return, as the warriors are apt to indemnify themselves for any disappointment, defeat, or loss they may have sustained, by taking the property and scalps of the first weak or unguarded party they may encounter.

No offence against society is inquired into by the

chiefs: stealing from one of their own tribe, which is very rare, exposes the thief to contempt; but cowardice is marked by the highest reprobation. When they go to war, they keep a watchful eye on such of the young men as are making their first essay in arms. If they display the necessary qualifications, they are in due time admitted to the rank of warriors, or, as they express it, of braves, or brave men. But if any give clear indications of cowardice, on the return of the party they are treated with neglect and contempt. A coward is at times punished even with death.

The female prisoners are made slaves, a condition scarcely worse than that of the other squaws. The young male prisoners are often adopted by the families of the tribe which have taken them, and supply the place of the members that have fallen in the expedition. Sometimes, on returning to their village, the party show their prisoner a painted red post, distant from twenty to forty yards, and bid him run and lay hold of it. On each side of his course stand men and women with axes, sticks, and other offensive weapons, ready to strike him as he passes. If he instantly spring forward with agility, he may perhaps reach the post without receiving a stroke, and is then safe, till a general council of the warriors determine his fate; but if he fall, he is generally dispatched.

If the prisoner be rejected by the family to which he is offered, he is then put to death with every circumstance of cruelty; and the constancy and fortitude of the sufferer are as remarkable as the barbarity of his murderers. The victim, fastened to a stake, sings his death song, insults his tormentors, bears with unshrinking firmness the most dreadful tortures, and expires

without a groan. He triumphs in his fortitude, not merely as a personal virtue, but chiefly as a national characteristic. We are to seek the cause of this patient endurance of the most excruciating pains, not in any nervous insensibility, any constitutional apathy, any muscular rigidity of the Indian, but in the sentiments which he has imbibed, and the habits to which he has been trained. He has been taught, from infancy, to consider courage and fortitude as the glory of man; to endure privations and pain without a murmur, and with an unsubdued heart, and to despise tortures and death; and, in his last moments, he proves the efficacy of the education which he has received. In these tragical scenes the women often take an active part; and their inhumanity, like the fortitude of the men, springs from education.

Previous to their intercourse with Europeans, the arms of the Indians were bows and arrows, spears, tomahawks, scalping knives, and war clubs. Most of them, however, are now provided with fire-arms; and, being eager to procure them, their quantity is continually increasing. But the use of these original weapons is far from being entirely superseded.

At times the bow is formed of pieces of horn neatly spliced, but it is more commonly made of wood. Formerly the arrow was pointed with flint or bone, but now generally with iron: the spear is pointed in a similar manner. The tomahawk is a hatchet or war axe. The scalping knife is used to cut and tear off the scalp. or integuments of the upper part of the skull with the hair, of their fallen enemies, which the Indians display as trophies of their victory, with as much exultation as ancient heroes manifested in showing the arms of their

vanquished foes. The head of the war club is globular, and at times hollow, inclosing pieces of metal, which make a gingling noise when a stroke is given. Occasionally, the blade of a knife, or some other sharp instrument, is fastened to the end of it at right angles. The tribes who dwell in the depth of the forest have no bucklers, but shelter themselves behind trees: those, however, who live in an open country, as on the banks of the Missouri, use bucklers or shields of a circular form, about two feet and a half in diameter, and composed of three or four folds of buffalo's skin, dried in the sun and hardened. These shields are proof against arrows, but not against ball.

In all their acts of devotion, and on all occasions where their confidence is to be won or their friendship secured, smoking is regarded as an inviolable token of sincerity.

The pipe, or calumet, as some have called it, is the symbol of peace and the pledge of friendship. Among the rude dwellers of the desert, it serves the same purposes as a flag of truce in the armies of more civilized communities. The pipe is about four feet long; the bowl made of stone or clay, and the stem of a light wood. It is differently ornamented in different nations. The bearer of this sacred symbol of friendship is never treated with disrespect, because they believe the Great Spirit would not allow such an iniquity to escape with impunity.

Peace is concluded, and treaties are ratified, by smoking. Wampum, and wampum belts, are also commonly used on such occasions. Wampum, the current coin of the Indians, is formed of shells found on the coasts of New England and Virginia: some of those shells are of a

purple colour, others white, but the former are reckoned most valuable. They are cut into the shape of oblong beads, about a quarter of an inch long, perforated, and strung on a small leathern thong: several of these strings, neatly sewed together by fine sinewy threads, form a belt, consisting of ten, twelve, or more strings. The value of each bead, and, consequently, of each string or belt, is exactly known. The size of the belt, which is often about two feet long, and three or four inches broad, is proportioned to the solemnity and importance of the occasion on which it is given. The chiefs occasionally give strings to each other as tokens of friendship; but belts are reserved for the ratification of national treaties, every stipulation of which is recorded to posterity by the hieroglyphics on the belt.

Tribes in amity occasionally apply to each other for a supply of their wants. When one tribe is in need of any commodity with which another is well provided, the needy tribe send a deputation of their number to smoke with their wealthier neighbours, and to inform them of their wants; and it would be a breach of Indian courtesy to send them away without the expected supply. What they smoke is tobacco mixed with the leaves of sumach.

The Shoshones, a band on the Rocky Mountains, before smoking with strangers, pull off their moccasins, in token of the sacred sincerity of their professions; and by this act they not only testify their sincerity, but also imprecate on themselves the misery of going bare footed for ever, if they prove unfaithful to their word.

LANGUAGES AND GENERAL TRAITS.

A number of different languages are spoken by the

Indians; and, in some cases, different dialects of the same language are found among different tribes.

The original languages, besides that of the Esquimaux, are said to be principally three,—the Iroquois, the Lenni Lenape, or Delaware, and the Floridian. These languages are so distinct, as to have no perceivable affinity. The Iroquois was spoken by the Iroquois or Six Nations, and several other tribes. The Iroquois, or Six Confederated Nations, so famous in Indian history, and once so formidable by their numbers, laws, and military prowess, are the Mohawks, Oneidas, Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagoes, and Tuscaroras. The Delaware language was spoken by many nations in the middle provinces; and the Floridian by the Creeks, Choctaws, Cherokees, Chickasaws, and other tribes in the southern states. These languages are said to be copious and expressive: they often consist of long compounds, and comprise many ideas in one word.

In their intercourse with the white men the Indians adopt none of their words or names, but apply names of their own invention both to persons and things.

In short, in the aboriginal inhabitants of North America, we find a race of men subsisting by fishing, hunting, and a partial cultivation of the soil. They are brave, active, shrewd, and penetrating; kind to their friends, but vindictive and cruel towards their enemies; capable of making great and persevering exertions, and of enduring the most excruciating torments without a sigh or a groan.

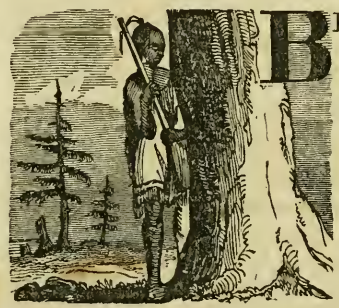
They believe in one Great Spirit, the Creator and Governor of the world, on whom they continually depend, and from whom all their enjoyments flow. Although they have no public or social worship, yet they

are grateful to the Great Spirit for past favours, thank him for present enjoyments, and implore from him future blessings; this they sometimes do with an audible voice, but more frequently in the silent aspirations of the heart. They believe in the doctrine of immortality and future retribution; but their conceptions on the subject are vague, and modified by their peculiar manners and habits.

Many attempts have been made to convert them to Christianity, but hitherto with little success. From their intercourse with white men they have derived no advantage: for since the commencement of that intercourse they have improved neither in civilization nor morality, and many powerful tribes have either totally disappeared, or present only a feeble remnant. The great diminution of their numbers is owing partly to war, partly to the ravages of small-pox, which seem to have been communicated to them by white men, but, above all, to the destructive effects of intoxicating liquors introduced among them by Europeans, and which have operated like a pestilence among these untutored tenants of the wilderness.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY INDIAN WARS OF FLORIDA.



BEFORE any permanent settlement was effected in the territory at present comprehended within the limits of the United States, many years were spent in exploring the coasts of the continent, and in vainly attempting to plant colonies on the shores. The English, under the command of the Cabots, were the first to discover the continent of North America, and they were also the first to reconnoitre the coast of Florida, without, however, attempting a landing. In endeavours to gain possession of the country, they were preceded both by the Spaniards and the French.

The first expedition to the coasts of Florida was made in 1512, by Juan Ponce de Leon, who had accompanied Columbus in his second voyage. He had first employed his arms against the Moors, when they were expelled from the kingdom of Granada, and he was afterwards much noticed in the West Indies, on account of his courage and abilities. Ponce de Leon, becoming conqueror and governor of Porto Rico, learnt from some Indians, that there existed towards the north a rich and fertile country, the waters of which had the property of restoring youth; and that a stream endowed with a similar virtue, passed through the island of Bimini, situated in the midst of the archipelago of Ba-

hama. The old warrior, desiring to signalize himself by new enterprises, and perhaps seduced by a vain illusion, set out from Porto Rico with three ships. He directed his course towards this archipelago, and explored several islands without finding this marvellous stream, and finally reached the continent, at about 30 degrees 8 minutes of north latitude. This discovery took place on Palm-Sunday, and therefore he gave the name of Florida to the country he had discovered. Ponce de Leon explored from north to south all the coast of this country; he landed at different places, and had several engagements with the natives. After having sailed round the southern point of Florida, and discovered the archipelago of the Tortugas, he returned to Porto Rico, still dazzled by his first expectations. The treasures and youth that he sought, had escaped him; but he found fame, and his memory has been consecrated by a great discovery.

Perez de Ortubia afterwards undertook a voyage for the same purpose; and several discoveries were made on other portions of this coast, in 1520, by Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon. A tempest having surprised him in an expedition against the Caribbees of the Lucayo islands, he was driven to the eastern coast of the continent, and pushed his discoveries towards the north, till he arrived at Cape St. Helena: he formed no settlement here, and the only result of his voyage was the kidnapping of thirty Indians, whom he took to Hayti, where they were compelled to labour in the mines, and they all soon died of sorrow and fatigue.

To fill the place of the ancient inhabitants of this island and those of Cuba, who had nearly all been destroyed by the conquerors, they often fitted out slave expeditions for the Caribbean archipelago; and when the continent was discovered, this species of piracy was practised on its shores, till they finally transported its bloody theatre to the shores of Africa.

Ponce de Leon for some years had appeared to renounce his spirit of discovery, when the report of the exploits of Ferdinand Cortez, the conqueror of Mexico, re-

animated his ambition. Moreover, the recent discoveries of Vasquez de Ayllon had acquainted him with the vast extent of Florida; for this name was applied, one after another, to all the adjoining countries. Ponce de Leon set out in 1521, with two ships equipped at his own expense, to form a settlement in this country; but the Indians advanced against him: most of his men were killed; he himself having been wounded by an arrow, was compelled to return to his ship, and he set sail for Cuba, where he died some days after his arrival.

A new expedition was fitted out in 1524, by Vasquez de Ayllon; but he could not even reach the cape he had discovered on his first voyage. The Indians on the coast where he landed made a pretended feast, to draw a party of his soldiers into the interior of the country; two hundred men were killed there; the others were assailed on the shore, and Vasquez de Ayllon himself fell under the blows of the Indians. All the surrounding tribes sought to repulse the Europeans: the report of the piracies committed on the shore, was spread throughout the country: the Indians were enraged, and they seized this occasion to take revenge.

The eastern coast only of Florida had as yet been explored; Pamphilo de Narvaez took another direction. This ancient rival of Ferdinand Cortez was already celebrated by his unfortunate expedition to Mexico; he now wished to repair nobly his disgrace, and signalize himself in his turn, by discoveries. The squadron which he equipped at Cadiz, set sail in 1527, touched at the island of Cuba, and sailing towards the north, discovered the bay of Pensacola, where it came to anchor in the month of April, 1528. Narvaez had with him three hundred men, forty of whom were cavalry: he penetrated into the interior at the head of his troops, and to gain the high region of the Apalachees, he had to surmount every obstacle that a wild country can oppose to communication. The immense plains that extended to the foot of these mountains were covered with thick forests, and they had great difficulty in making a passage through the confused remains of trees

overturned by hurricanes, broken in pieces by lightning, or fallen from age: marshes, and small puddles of stagnant water in which these ruins of vegetation were heaped up, occupied all the lower ground. In one place the waters found no emission; in another, it was necessary to overcome deep and rapid rivers, either by swimming, by rafts, or by canoes hastily constructed. They met with several Indian wigwams surrounded by their plantations of maize; but more frequently they were in deserts that offered no means of subsistence; and when they arrived at the Apalachees they found neither the plenty nor riches which they came to seek. Narvaez, exposed to frequent attacks from the Indians, who were armed with bows and arrows, which they used with as much skill as strength, was not able to remain in their country. He returned to the sea-shore, and reached the mouth of the river Apalachicola. This voyage had lasted three months: the boats they had then to construct were not ready till the 20th of September, and by going to sea immediately, they were exposed to the violent hurricanes which frequently accompany the equinoxes. This adventurous flotilla kept at first along the shore, sailing from the east to the west: some maritime canals formed by the continent and narrow sandy islands, sheltered them at intervals; but when they had no longer the shelter of these natural barriers, they became the sport of the waves. The mouth of a great river was soon afterwards discovered: it was the Mississippi: the mass of its waters was so great that it prolonged its course to some distance in the sea, and they were thereby enabled to obtain fresh water, of which they stood in much need. But the same current compelled these feeble skiffs to recede from the shore, and they were soon entirely dispersed by rough weather. Narvaez, who had hoped to gain a shore better sheltered, was carried out to sea, and never again seen. The other boats laboriously pursued their voyage towards the west, and were cast on different parts of the continent or the islands along the shore, where most of them perished of sick

ness or hunger. Alvar Nunez, one of those who survived this disastrous expedition, was reserved for other dangers; he succeeded in gaining the confidence of the Indians, and acquired so much the more ascendency over them as they believed him able to predict future events and cure all diseases: three others of his shipwrecked companions joined themselves to his destiny; many cures, which these people regarded as the effect of their attentions or charms, established their credit, and to their skill were attributed many prodigies. They shared for eight years a wandering life, the fatigues and miseries of the savages; and they afterwards returned to Mexico, accompanied by thirty Indians belonging to the provinces through which they had passed. The conqueror of New Spain was still there, and Antonio de Mendoza exercised the authority of viceroy.

They wished to profit by the accounts which these travellers gave, by attempting a new expedition into the interior of Florida, by land. Vasquez Coronado was appointed leader of it; but he took another course; he proceeded in a north-west direction towards the regions of Sinalsa and Sonora, and penetrated the territory of Quivira, seeking, on the authority of some vague traditions, the riches and wonders which vanished at his approach.

Another expedition took place at the same time; Ferdinand de Soto set out from Spain in 1538, with a body of twelve hundred men destined to form a settlement in Florida. This warrior sailed first to the island of Cuba, and then proceeded to the continent, landed in the bay of Spiritu-Santo, and penetrated towards the north, to the foot of the Apalachees. The Spaniards then changed their course; they went towards the west, through the countries watered by the Coosa, Alabama, and Tombigbee, and reached, successively, the Mississippi, the Red River, and the Brazos-de-Dios, which became the limit of their expedition. It had lasted three years; war, fatigue, and famine, had carried away most of his soldiers; the spirit of discord broke out in the feeble remains of this army, and Fer-

dinand de Soto determined to return to the Mississippi. They again reached this river near the mouth of the Arkansas; but the death of the commander put an end to the enterprise: this troop, reduced to three hundred men, renounced the design of forming an establishment; they embarked on the Mississippi, made frequent incursions, which enfeebled them still more, and descended to the mouth of the river, whence they reached the coast of Mexico.

Don Louis de Velasco, becoming viceroy of New Spain, was ordered to fit out another expedition for the settlement of Florida. He assembled all the men who had borne arms in that country, or who had been shipwrecked there; and Tristan de Luna was appointed captain-general of this corps of the army, which embarked at Vera Cruz, and landed, August 14, 1559, in the bay of Pensacola. Six days afterwards, the whole fleet was destroyed by a hurricane: they lost all the provisions they had on board, and they were now without food, on a sterile coast. A detachment of four hundred men was then sent on an expedition to procure some: they were obliged to traverse an uncultivated and desert country, and finally reached the Indian village of Nanipacua. This nation had formerly been more numerous, and its ruin appeared to date from the period of the invasion of Ferdinand de Soto. Luna soon proceeded thither with all his troops; some arrived by land, others by ascending the river: this village received the name of Santa Cruz of Nanipacua.

The Spanish commandant was favourably received there by the natives of the country. The produce of the chase and the harvest of maize, were sufficient to convince his troops that they would not be entirely without provisions; but these were soon exhausted, and Luna, wishing to make new discoveries, placed himself at the head of three hundred men. He had heard of the province of Coosa, situated farther north: it was in this direction that the Spaniards proceeded, and, after travelling fifty days through a country intersected by rivers, marshes, and forests, where they could not follow

any fixed direction, they reached the borders of Alabama. At a small distance from them, they saw several Indian villages. They encamped in this neighbourhood, and entered into a traffic with the people, that they might procure provisions.

The presence of the strangers was not a new spectacle for the Indians: they recollected the expedition of Ferdinand de Soto: two of his followers had even lived twelve years among them, and had here peaceably terminated their lives. They would have received a few travellers without fear; but the number and strength of an armed troop excited the dread of this savage tribe; and to get rid of the Spaniards, they engaged them in a military expedition, not unworthy of their valour, determining to assist the Indians of Coosa, who were then but a few days' journey distant from them. These Indians were then at war with the Natchez, a revolted tribe who refused the payment of an ancient tribute. The Natchez had obtained several great advantages over them; the widows of the Coosa warriors, who were killed in battle, had cut off their hair, scattered it among the tombs of their ancestors, and, coming in a body to address the cacique, they cast themselves on their knees before him, and implored vengeance.

On the arrival of the Europeans, who presented themselves as allies, they ran to arms with the greatest confidence: the cacique had given the signal; cries of war were heard throughout the whole nation of Coosa. Three hundred men assembled in a plain, and divided into different parties, each of which had a guide; fifty Spaniards on foot and fifty on horseback joined in this expedition. The next day eight Indian chiefs were seen running across the quarters allotted to the Spaniards, to their own, and stopping near the cacique, raising great cries; they took him on their shoulders, and carried him some distance, till they came to an alcove, the steps of which he ascended alone. The cacique walked about for some time with gravity; a sort of sceptre was handed to him, which was terminated by a number of very beautiful feathers; he raised it several times,



pointing it towards the country of the Natchez with a menacing gesture. Having put some seeds in his mouth, he bit them, and spit out the remains. He then addressed his warriors as follows;—"Friends, our enemies will be vanquished, and their forces will be broken like these seeds which I have destroyed with my teeth." The cacique then took a shell filled with the water, and, pouring it out, drop by drop, exclaimed "May all their blood be thus poured out." All the Indians repeated these imprecations with great shouts. The cacique now descended from the alcove, and led his troops to the war which he had just solemnly declared against the Natchez. (*See Engraving, on the opposite page.*)

The following night, new cries were heard in the camp of the Indians: their cacique again excited them to vengeance, and they swore never to return without having accomplished it. The spies sent by the Coosa Indians thought that the Natchez were not upon their guard, and the cacique desired rather to surprise, than attack them openly. They approached their first village, and attempted to occupy the different avenues, so that no person might escape; but when the cacique entered with his troops, they found all the Natchez had fled: a confused noise had made them acquainted with the approach of their enemies. Their village was deserted, and they found nothing but some provisions which the enemy, in their precipitate retreat, had left behind.

Vengeance was thus deferred; and their regret was more bitter when they saw in the place, round which their habitations had been built, large posts, marking the usual place of the execution of the prisoners they had taken. These posts were hung round with limbs and scalps; and the appearance of these bloody trophies raised the fury of the warriors still higher. They gathered these miserable remains to bury them with superstitious rites; and they spread through the village like madmen, some in the hope of finding enemies to sacrifice, others to plunder the cabins and set fire to them. After sun-set, they celebrated their vic-

tory by the light of the fire, with dances, songs, shouts and the confused noise of their warlike instruments.

The cacique and the Spaniards determined to go in pursuit of the enemy, and advanced towards the mountain where they supposed they had taken refuge; they could not discover any trace of them, but approached a large river, towards which they appeared to have retreated. The savages gave it the name of Ochechitou, and this name calls to mind that of Nachitoches, which is familiarized by many more recent associations.

The Natchez had in effect crossed the river, and believed themselves in safety; but the Coosa Indians knew the place where the river could be forded. They crossed it, the water being up to the breast. The discharge of a musket, which killed a Natchez, put the others in confusion; they were not able to resist fire-arms, and, finding that they were pursued across another river, they solicited peace, promising to pay the cacique of Coosa their ancient tributes. These consisted in provisions of grain and fruit which were sent three times a year. Such are the treasures for which savages make war; so trifling are the causes of the battles which frequently happen between them. A greater ambition, a more intense and insatiable thirst for gold and power, is found only among civilized people.

In penetrating into the interior of the country, the Spanish detachment, separated from the body of the army by extensive deserts, had no method of sending to Tristan de Luna any account of its situation and discoveries: it was believed that the whole detachment had perished; and Tristan, wishing to be ready to receive the reinforcement he expected from Mexico abandoned Santa Cruz de Nanipacua, in order to return by descending the river, to Port St. Maria, which was about 120 leagues distant.

A captain and twelve men, sent by the commander of the body that fought against the Natchez, did not arrive at Santa Cruz till after the departure of the captain-general. A note, lying at the foot of a tree, acquainted them with the direction he had taken, and

they encountered him at Port St. Maria. They then deliberated whether to endeavour to keep possession of the province of Coosa, or to abandon it. Tristan de Luna regarded it as unworthy of the courage of Spaniards to be overcome with difficulties; and did not believe this country as poor as it was represented to be by the malcontents. "If we cannot live there," said he, "we will retire among the Natchez; if their resources are exhausted, we will seek better countries, and, to reach them, we will brave every fatigue: it would be humiliating to fear it, and, however great it may be, we are determined to bear it."

Luna was ready to struggle against all obstacles; but his aid-de-camp, Juan Ceron, believing them insurmountable, and seeing that his opinion was favoured by a majority of the soldiers, resolved to oppose the project of the captain-general. He secretly sent into the province of Coosa the twelve men who had returned, and he considered himself as having power to recall, by virtue of the authority with which he was entrusted, the detachment which was on a voyage of discovery. Ceron persisted in ordering it to return; and its commander, receiving a positive order, abandoned the province in which he was established: he had employed seven months in this expedition.

Most of the troops were in a state of discontent when this detachment returned to St. Maria: the spirit of sedition every day increased; the extreme severity of the captain-general only made its progress more rapid, and as he could not put in execution the rigour of his orders against a great number of undisciplined men, they passed soon from discontent to disdain of his authority. These troubles lasted five months; they were finally terminated by the pious exhortations of Father Domingo, of the order of Annunciation, who made use of all the power of religion, to bring back the parties to a love of peace and an oblivion of mutual injuries.

In the meanwhile, the viceroy of Mexico, Don Louis de Velasco, informed of these dissensions of the body

of the army, had appointed a successor to Tristan de Luna; he had appointed Angel de Villafana governor of Florida, and this new commander soon arrived at Port St. Maria, with a reinforcement of troops and some munitions. Villafana wished to profit by the experience of his predecessors, in order that he might decide with more judgment whether he should occupy anew the province of Coosa, or abandon all thoughts of forming an establishment in a region so often represented as sterile. This last council prevailed, and Villafana led his troops to Havana. His instructions ordered him to return to the eastern coast of Florida, and explore it as far as Cape St. Helena; but this plan was not put in execution.

Tristan de Luna and a few of his followers were now the only persons who remained at Port St. Maria. This old commander could not renounce an enterprise the grandeur and advantages of which had so much engaged his attention; and he wrote to the viceroy of Mexico, to submit to him a new plan of operations. He did not doubt of success; but the viceroy, not seeing any possibility of it, ordered him to return to New Spain, which order he obeyed.

These last events happened in 1561. Although Florida had been explored at different points, since the first discoveries of Ponce de Leon, no permanent settlement had yet been established, when a new flag appeared on the eastern coasts of the continent, now called Georgia and Carolina.

Admiral Coligni, desiring to form a refuge for the Calvinists persecuted in France, had formed, under the reign of Henry II., the project of founding a Protestant colony in America; and Durand de Villegagnon, vice-admiral of Brittany, had been charged with this expedition. But the fort which he built on the coast of Brazil was soon destroyed by the Portuguese, and Coligni cast his eyes on the countries situated to the north of Florida, which had formerly been discovered by Verrazini. He proposed to the king to make a voyage of discovery, and Charles IX., who then reigned, placed

two ships at his disposal, the command of which he gave to Jean Ribaut of Dieppe, a mariner of great experience, who set sail from that port, February 15th, 1562. Ribaut and his crew were of the reformed religion; and the admiral, in protecting an expedition which would be useful to the Protestants, had regard also to the interests of France. He designed to form a retreat for the proscribed, and put an end to the civil and religious wars; to separate the two parties, without, however, making them forget their common origin and country.

Captain Ribaut reached the coasts of Florida in the 30th degree of north latitude; he followed it, sailing towards the north, and landed on the shores of a river, which he called the river May, because he discovered it in this month. This river is the same as that which was afterwards called by the Spaniards, St. Matthew. They raised there, as a sign of possession, a column on which were inscribed the arms of France, and they had friendly communications with the natives of the country. Ribaut wished to prosecute his discoveries, that he might choose the most favourable place for forming a settlement; he discovered the mouths of all the rivers of this coast, from the Altamaha to the Savannah, and he reached, by continuing his voyage, the entrance of a deep bay, which he called Port Royal. The Coosa-Walchee, whose source is in the Apalachees, pours its waters into this vast basin, and divides itself into two branches before emptying into the sea; the one bends its course towards Port Royal, the other towards the bay of St. Helena; and this region has always been distinguished by the natives as the first in which the Europeans established colonies.

Ribaut considered as a southern prolongation of New France, the countries which he discovered, and the Spaniard regarded them as a northern prolongation of Florida. This was giving on both sides a great extension to the right of discovery; that of occupation was more positive, and Ribaut had not been preceded by any colony on the coast where he intended to establish

one. He gave French names to the rivers he discovered; they were the Seine, Garonne, Loire, Sourene, Charente and Sordogne. The fortress which he afterwards built on an island in the bay of Port Royal, received the name of Charlesfort. The command of it was given to Captain Albert; and the chief of the expedition before leaving him, addressed him in the following words: "I pray you, in the presence of all, to so worthily acquit yourself of your duty, and so modestly govern the little troop that I leave you, and who consent to remain under your orders with so much pleasure, that I shall never have cause to reprove you, and shall be able, as I wish, to declare to the king, the faithful service that, in presence of us all, you promised towards him in his New Spain." "And you, companions," said he to the soldiers, "pray you to obey Captain Albert, as if he was myself; rendering him the obedience that a true soldier should to his commander, being in unity with one another; and doing this, God will assist you and bless your undertakings." We have quoted the language of the authors of his time, that we might give in its native simplicity this admirable address.

After leaving in the fort some provisions and munitions of war, Ribaut saluted with his artillery the new French establishment, and directed his course towards the north, with the intent of gaining the banks of the Jordan, now Santee, which a sailor, who had belonged to the expedition of Vasques de Ayllon had discovered forty years before; but the water became shallow as they approached the coast, and the mouths of the rivers which they fell in with were so obstructed with sand, that Ribaut, after having consulted his crew, determined to prosecute his discoveries no farther, but to go and render an account of what he had done. He returned to Dieppe, five months after his departure.

Captain Albert's first communications with the Indians were friendly; ascending the river, he visited the cacique Andusta, and many other chiefs of different tribes, who welcomed him with fêtes, and presente

him with some maize, game and fruits; he made them presents in return, so that a perfect understanding existed between them. But he knew not how to gain the affection of his soldiers; he irritated them by many acts of rigour and injustice. A soldier had been degraded for some fault, and left on a neighbouring island without provisions: others, menaced with a similar treatment, excited a sedition against Albert: they put him to death, brought back the banished soldier who was almost starved, and appointed for commander one of their number, named Nicholas Barré, who succeeded in establishing order in the colony. It was however in want of many things: the reinforcement they expected from France had not arrived, and having no vessel in which to leave the country, they began to construct a brigantine. The Indians furnished them with large ropes for the rigging: they caulked it with the moss which they gathered from trees and the resin of pine trees; they made sails of their clothing, and departed in that feeble bark, after having distributed their last presents among the Indians. The provisions which they received from them were insufficient for a long voyage; the progress was impeded sometimes by storms, at others by calms: their provisions were finally exhausted, and the crew in despair decided that one of their number should be sacrificed to save the rest. Then the banished soldier, whom they had formerly saved from death, offered himself as a voluntary victim: his offer was accepted; hunger made them anthropophagi. Finally, land was discovered; they were transported with joy, and after having gone on shore, let their deserted vessel, which leaked in many places, float at the mercy of the waves. In this situation they were discovered by the captain of an English vessel who took them on board; many were taken to England, where they were interrogated respecting the shores of America, and on the possibility of establishing a colony there; others were landed on the coast of France, and arrived at Dieppe, in the month of July, 1564. This expedition had lasted twenty-nine months:

it had been left to itself; civil war having prevented the mother country from sending assistance to this distant colony. It was only after the return of peace that Admiral Coligni was authorized by the king to send three vessels to this part of the American continent.

René de Laudonnière, who had accompanied Ribaut in his first expedition, was appointed commander of this one, and departed from Havre, April 22d, 1564. We may mention, among the persons who accompanied him, Ottigny, Lacaille, Laroche-Ferrière, d'Erlac, Levasseur, who signalized themselves by their military services. A painter, named Le Moine, accompanied them, and his drawings, afterwards engraved by Debry, made the Europeans acquainted with various scenes in the life of the Indians.

The pictures by which a narrative is ornamented, have often been considered as a great help to the study of history. Nature has its spectacles, people have their monuments, and faithful representations aid to fix them in our memory. If they represent festivals or national solemnities, they spread more light on the description; if they show the common occurrences of life, they allow us to dispense with details which suspend the interest in the event and the rapidity of recital. The writings of the ancients, at least in the condition in which we have received them, were not accompanied by them: this privation often keeps us in uncertainty respecting the progress of their industry and of their skill in the arts; and we have in vain endeavoured to re-construct some of their inventions, by the aid of the writings they have left us.

But in using this language of signs, we must not lose sight of its being only an accessary to our work, and that it should be bent to the will of the historian without ever serving him as a guide. Each place, each period does not offer the same number of figures; history has its deserts, as well as its fertile meadows; in one place we have nothing to represent, in another a long series of images is presented.

The time at which Laudonnière set sail, was the





same as that in which the colonists of Charlesfort, who had been so long left without assistance, left the shores of America to return to France. The two expeditions crossed each other in the midst of the ocean without meeting, and the project of Coligni could not be accomplished: other destinies awaited the navigators on the shore where they were about to settle.

Laudonnière reached the Canaries, whence he sailed towards the Antilles: he had on the island of Dominica, where he landed to take in some provisions, an engagement with the Caribbees; he rounded the islands of St. Christopher and Montserrat, reached the coasts of Florida, and on the 20th of June sailed up the river May. The Indians gave them a friendly reception: their cacique, Saturiova, came to see them; and Lacaille, who had imperfectly learned their language in his voyage, made him understand that they were sent hither by a prince who governed all the East. They came to render homage to his goodness, to his valour and liberality, and they had surmounted many perils to form with him a treaty of confederation and friendship. Saturiova was flattered by this honour; he believed himself still more powerful, since so distant a sovereign sought his alliance, and conducted the French to the column that Ribaut had erected, two years before, on the banks of the river. The warriors found it ornamented with flowers, branches of laurel and other trees: and provisions had been brought here for the new guests. (*See Engraving, on the opposite page.*)

The intention of Laudonnière was to gain promptly the bay of Port Royal: he again set sail towards the north, and landed at several parts of the coast which had been discovered by the preceding expedition. Here they learnt that the post of Charlesfort had been abandoned for several months, and they were compelled to choose a place on which to settle. This bay was the most beautiful and the most secure which the French had discovered, but the banks of the river May appeared more fertile and more favourable for the establishment of a new colony. They hoped by ascending

the river, to reach the country that contained the mines of gold of which they were in search, and this opinion was founded on the ill-understood information which they had received from the savages. They had told them that by following this direction which led towards the mountains, they could easily establish communications with another sea; and we have since discovered, by visiting this part of the Apalachees, that but a short distance separates the sources of the rivers which flow either east or south, the former towards the ocean, the latter towards the gulf of Mexico. These considerations made them prefer the banks of the river May to all other situations. A triangular fort was constructed two leagues from its mouth; and was called Carolina in honour of their king; and the Indians themselves laboured at the entrenchments which they surrounded with ditches and palisades.

The natives then united into several confederacies. That along the sea shore was composed of thirty tribes, the principal of which was under the dominion of Saturiova as cacique. A confederation more distant from the ocean, and extending to the Apalachee, acknowledged Outina for its head chief. Other similar leagues were formed in the neighbouring territories; and the population of the natives of the country was thus grouped round their principal war-chiefs. Community of interests, similarity of language, family alliances, were the foundation of these voluntary associations. If the bonds between several tribes of the same nation were broken, they could easily be re-established by the advice and intervention of others; but the rivalry which existed among the greater confederations was more inveterate, and their quarrels were transmitted from generation to generation.

Laudonnière did not desire to enter into the quarrels of the natives; he had at first sought the friendship of Saturiova, whose good will was necessary for the safety of the colony; and when this chief asked his assistance against the mountain tribes, Laudonnière, instead of uniting with one of the parties, made them become



SATURIOVA. Pag. 71.

reconciled. He did not, however, always preserve this neutrality: he several times rendered assistance to Outina, against the other tribes of the Apalachees; the Indians of the coast became jealous of this, and the consequence of a change of policy finally rendered the situation of the French very difficult.

In preferring the alliance of Outina to that of the other chiefs, Laudonnière sought to open communications more easily with the mountains in which they hoped to find the mines of gold; it was in this direction that he extended his discoveries. He gave to Outina the assistance of a body of twenty-five riflemen, commanded by Ottigny, one of his bravest officers; and the troops of the cacique, accompanied by their auxiliaries, marched with confidence against the enemy. The Indian army stopped towards the evening, and separated into various groups, to keep watch during the night. A hundred warriors were ranged at some distance round the cacique; two hundred men, farther off, formed a second circle round him, and they were themselves surrounded by another numerous circle. The Indians began their march at break of day, and, when they had arrived at the limits of the territory they intended to invade, Outina resolved to consult the sorcerer whom he had in his army, that he might know the force and position of his enemies. The sorcerer was an old man bowed down with years; he knelt on the ground, traced around him some unknown characters, murmured some unconnected words, fatigued himself by his violent convulsions, and, taking breath, he made known the number of the enemies, and the place where they were to be found. The cacique was discouraged; but, on the entreaties of Ottigny, he determined to march against them. This officer and the riflemen began the action: the enemy was conquered; and those who were killed or taken prisoners were cut in pieces by the Indians, without Ottigny's being able to make them renounce so barbarous a custom; and the savages, loaded with their bloody remains, marched back to their own territory.

After having assisted the cacique in his expedition

Ottigny quitted the neighbourhood of the mountains, and returned to Fort Carolina. Their provisions were now almost exhausted; the bonds of discipline were relaxed, and the spirit of dissension increased every day. The malcontents accused Laudonnière of appropriating to his own use the money which had been sent for the purpose of buying provisions for the troops; of sending only his friends for the discovery of the mines, and of depriving of these riches all the other soldiers; of condemning them to severe labours; of depriving them even of the consolations of religion; and of leaving without ministers all the reformers who had followed him.

Some movements of insubordination, at first timid and undecided, gave place to a conspiracy against Laudonnière. Desfourneaux was the leader of the seditious: he proceeded, at midnight, at the head of twenty riflemen, to the lodgings of this officer, took him prisoner, and conducted him chained on board of a ship. The mutineers afterwards obliged him, under pain of death, to sign a paper which authorized them to go into the Spanish possessions to seek for provisions; and, under this pretext, they armed two light vessels, sailed through the Archipelago of the Lucayos, and gained the shores of the island of Cuba, where they committed numerous depredations. The governor of this island and his sons were seized by them in a caravel: he agreed with them on the price of his ransom, and one of his sons was permitted to go on shore to procure this sum; but, according to the private instructions given him by the governor, he secretly gathered all the soldiers in the neighbourhood, and attacked the pirates. The caravel which had been seized was retaken, with the crew that had been placed in it: one of their ships was destroyed, and there being only one brigantine containing twenty-six men left, they believed themselves incapable of continuing their voyage, and determined to return to the river May. They no longer had power to excite a sedition: Laudonnière had been set at liberty and his authority re-established, through the attention

of Ottigny, Caille, d'Erlac, and the other soldiers who had remained faithful. The corsairs only wished to touch at the port, to take in some provisions, and their intention was to set sail afterwards for France; but their vessel was seized; the four principal leaders were condemned to death; the others were pardoned.

These acts of piracy excited profound hatred in the Spanish colonies; religious hatred was added to it, and they determined to destroy a colony formed by Lutherans. Although the punishment of the criminals was a reparation for their offences, they were not contented with it; and since they could no longer accuse the French colony of favouring piracy, they accused them of heresy.

During the absence of these adventurers, which lasted nearly four months, Laudonnière had continued the building of Fort Carolina. He was on friendly terms with Saturiova, and the Indians of the shore often brought him fish, game, and maize, in exchange for arms and different products of European manufacture. Captain Levasseur sailed along the coast to the bay of Port Royal, to renew the communications established three years before, with the people of this neighbourhood, and he received from their cacique Andusta, a present of some maize. Laudonnière maintained his intimate union with Outina, and, to obtain provisions, aided him in his military expeditions.

Their provisions, however, began to fail: fish abounded only in certain seasons; the migrating birds disappeared; the hunters no longer met with those clouds of wood-pigeons which had but lately covered some islands on the shore, and they were obliged to eat acorns, the bark of certain trees, roots, and fruits which grew spontaneously. They could have obtained, by cultivation, provisions more efficacious and more durable; but they paid no attention to this, although admiral Coligni had expressly recommended it. This species of labour was disgusting to men accustomed only to the fatigues of war and to the absolute idleness in which they lived during the intervals between them;

they believed themselves able to gain every thing at the point of the sword, and they attached no value to the peaceful conquests of labour and obscure and tranquil occupations. The warriors who sailed to the New World had often seen in Europe a class of men attached to the soil; they were there charged with the defence of these cultivators who supported them, and in changing their country they did not change their habits. We should, however, say that since the period of the discovery, their conduct towards the Indians had no longer the same rigour. The French who sought to establish a colony in America depended, it is true, on the natives for their provisions, but they always gave them something in exchange. The least products of their industry had a value among the savages, all the fruits of the land were held in estimation by the Europeans, and they were led to commerce by their mutual wants. These relations, however, diminished from day to day, and provisions no longer arrived at Fort Carolina after the French had exhausted their presents and means of exchange.

Then, not being able to demand any thing of the earth, since they had confided nothing to it, they had to endure all the penalties of their neglect. It was necessary to take from the Indians what they would no longer voluntarily offer; but the savages retired into the depths of the forests, and carried with them in their flight the few provisions they had remaining. The shore offered no resources: the inhabitants of the mountains had also refused to furnish them any provisions, although they were able to do so. The difficulty of living on an uncultivated and desert shore was generally felt, and they hastened to build a ship which could carry them back to France. This was not enough: it was necessary to have provisions to last till they embarked, and enough for their voyage.

They cast their eyes upon Outina; and as they hoped nothing more from his friendship, they formed the project of taking him captive, that they might force the Indians of whom he was the chief to furnish some

provisions as his ransom. Laudonnière disapproved at first of this design, and made to the men who proposed it a wise representation of the necessity of managing the savages, and of not increasing their hatred; but he was not listened to, and the resolution they had taken of abandoning the country made them believe that they could constrain him to side with them with impunity. Finally, Laudonnière yielded to the entreaties of his troops; he embarked, for the purpose of ascending the river, with fifty of his best soldiers, and after a voyage of sixty leagues, he surprised Outina in the midst of his tribe, and carried him away prisoner, declaring the motives which had led them to this measure.

The Indians furnished them with some provisions, and seeing with regret that they would not give their cacique his liberty, they placed themselves under the authority of his son, that they might still rally round a chief, and a name which was dear to them. Outina, having become a captive, made many promises for the sake of procuring his liberty, and the season permitted him to fulfil them. The summer commenced, the harvests became ripe, and they began to gather them in; but Outina made them understand that these harvests would never belong to those who kept him prisoner, and that the Indians would rather destroy them than leave them at their disposal. Laudonnière finally consented to give the cacique his liberty, in the hope that he would inspire his tribe with more favourable dispositions.

The whole nation was, however, irritated, and preparations were every where made for war. Long arrows were stuck in the field with scalps hanging at the tops; large trees had been cut down to obstruct the navigation of the river, so that the boats of the French could not return to Fort Carolina. They had killed several soldiers who had strayed from the party, and they laid ambuscades for the troops. A detachment of thirty men, commanded by Ottigny, was attacked by the Indians, who had divided into separate bodies that they might attack them successively. Several men

were killed, twenty-two wounded; and the boats to which they fled had great difficulty in regaining the fort. The commander having no longer any thing to expect from this expedition, sought provisions elsewhere. He sent several vessels along the coast, and Captain Levasseur obtained from the Indian chiefs two cargoes of maize. They then hoped that they would have provisions enough to return to France; they were about to quit this establishment, and had begun to destroy the fortifications, that they might not leave to other occupants the means of maintaining themselves there.

On the 3d of August, 1565, they discovered four vessels at sea, and having sent to know whose they were, they learnt that it was an English squadron, commanded by Captain Hawkins, who had sailed fifteen days along the coast. He had been conducted to it by Martin Atinas, of Dieppe, who had formerly discovered it, for he had accompanied Ribaut in his first expedition. Hawkins desired to get a supply of water; his demand was granted, and he came himself, in one of the boats belonging to his ship, to pay Laudonnière a visit, and spend some days with him. The French had kept till then, in the midst of their greatest privations, a number of domestic fowls, which they sought to naturalize in this country, and which they determined to keep as a last resource. They killed many of them that they might better entertain the English captain; and he, having learnt the intention of the commander to return to France, offered to receive him and all his followers on board one of his vessels. Laudonnière would not accept the offer; he was unacquainted with the relations between France and England; the two powers appeared to him to be but ill reconciled, war might suddenly break out between them, and if it did occur during the voyage, the French who were on board would, on their arrival in England, be retained as prisoners.

However plausible were these reasons of Laudonnière, his refusal excited so much discontent in Fort Carolina, that all wished to profit by the occasion offered

them to embark. Hawkins proposed to take all with him that desired it, and to give to Laudonnière a vessel to transport the others. This offer was accepted; the price of the ship was agreed on, and they gave, as a security for payment, many pieces of artillery and some munitions of war, which the approaching desertion of the fort caused them to regard as useless. Hawkins, seeing that they had nothing but maize to live on, offered them twenty barrels of flour, beans, salt, other provisions, and some wine; he furnished stores to those who had none, made presents to the officers, and conducted himself towards all with as much humanity as courtesy.

After the departure of Hawkins, Laudonnière hastily made his preparations for embarking, and on the 28th of August they set sail, when they discovered several vessels; these were commanded by Captain John Ribaut, who had formerly led an expedition in 1562; and was to succeed Laudonnière. A false imputation had given place to this superseding: some malcontents, returned to France, had accused him of being too severe towards the men who had followed him; of holding suspicious correspondences; of being disposed even to rebellion. Admiral Coligni, however, wrote to him, that they had no cause of discontent or suspicion against him, and that the king only desired his return that he might better know the situation of an establishment upon which reports differed, and determine whether it should be renounced, or whether new sacrifices should be made to maintain it. Ribaut was soon convinced of the injustice of the accusations against Laudonnière; and desired him to remain with him in the colony; but he could not submit to be reduced to a second place in a country where he had commanded.

Captain Ribaut had only been seven days in the ruined fort, which he had again built up, when six large vessels, commanded by Don Pedro Mélendez de Avilez, came in sight. This officer, regarded by the Spaniards as one of the greatest captains they had in the New World, had been ordered by Philip II. to visit

all the coasts of Florida, and draw an exact chart of them, which might serve as a guide to the pilots in the channel of Bahama, where frequent shipwrecks occurred. Mélendez found this mission too limited; he proposed to the king to form an establishment in Florida, and to propagate the true faith there. "For me, sire," added he, "the blindness of so many thousands of idolaters has so greatly affected me, that, of all the appointments with which your Majesty can honour me, there is not one which I should prefer to that of conquering Florida, and converting its inhabitants to the true faith."

Philip II. accepted the offers of Mélendez, who immediately began his preparations; and his expedition was on the point of sailing, when he learnt that the Protestants established in America were about to receive a reinforcement from France. Philip II. conceived the design of destroying it, and he increased the force under the command of Mélendez. This admiral departed from Cadiz June 29th, 1565, with the galleon Saint Pelage and ten other vessels. This expedition was characterized as a holy war; a great number of volunteers joined him, and he had soon under his command two thousand six hundred men. On the 9th of August, he arrived before Porto Rico, with five ships; the others had been dispersed in a tempest, and he had now only a third part of his troops. He then learnt that Ribaut had got the advance of him, but that he had remained a long time on the coast before landing.

Mélendez, without waiting for a reinforcement, resolved to prosecute his design: he gained the shores of Florida, and soon reached the mouth of the river May. Four French ships were anchored without the entrance of the river, not being able to cross the bar: Mélendez approached, with the design of seizing them; he took some men prisoners who were on the shore, addressed a summons of surrender to the commander of the ships, and declared that he had come to engage in a war with the Lutherans to whom no quarter would be shown; that the Catholics would be humanely treated,

out that the heretics should be treated without mercy. After having thus menaced them, Mélendez sailed out to sea, watching for the ships; which had not enough men to engage with him; but they had time to fly, and Mèlendez not being able to overtake them, proceeded to the Dauphin river, and the French vessels returned to their station at the mouth of the river.

Ribaut now resolved to re-embark with part of his troops, and attack the Spaniards. Several of his captains, and Laudonnière particularly, sought in vain to dissuade him from it; they represented to him that it was better to remain on shore and hasten the building of their fortifications, that it was dangerous to expose themselves to sudden hurricanes on a coast where these happened so very often, that it would be difficult to return if they should be dispersed, and that they should not abandon the fort to the danger of being taken during their absence. But Ribaut was resolved; he believed himself obliged to seek the enemy according to the last orders that he had received from Admiral Coligni before his departure from France. His instruction terminated in these words: "In concluding this letter, I received certain information, that Don Pedro Mélendez has departed from Spain to go to the coast of New France. You must not allow him to encroach upon our possessions, any more than he would desire you to encroach upon theirs." That Mélendez might not have time to establish and fortify himself on the coast where he had landed, Ribaut embarked all his own soldiers and the greater part of Laudonnière's, and departed September 10th, never again to return.

The Spanish commander was distinguished by great activity. Hardly had he proceeded to the Dauphin river, when he landed thirty men, to choose a suitable place for the establishment he desired to form; the fort of which he laid the foundation received the name of St. Augustine, and it was not till some time after that this first station was abandoned, and removed farther south to the place which it now occupies. Mélendez took from his vessels all the things necessary for his

establishment, and then learning that Ribaut was disposed to attack him, he sent two ships for reinforcements to Hispaniola, and to carry to Spain certain prisoners whom he desired to deliver to the inquisition: he afterwards stationed himself near the bar of the river with his other ships and a part of his troops; but no engagement took place between the two squadrons. The shallow water did not permit Ribaut to cross the bar; and a tempest soon after arose which carried the French vessels out to sea, and prevented them from again uniting, to prepare for a new attack.

This separation instantly allowed the forces of Mélendez to be disposed of. He made haste to profit by the absence of Ribaut to attack Fort Carolina. Five hundred soldiers, musketeers and those carrying rifles, were chosen for this enterprise: he put himself at the head of the vanguard, composed of twenty brave soldiers carrying axes, to open a passage through the forest; and he had no guides but a compass and a prisoner whose hands were bound behind his back.

At the end of the fourth day, the troops arrived within a mile and a half of the place: they were fatigued; they had several marshes yet to cross; but so violent a storm arose in the night, that the officer of the guard, charged to prevent the fort from being surprised, believing there was no necessity for keeping watch, permitted the soldiers of his post to go to sleep. The Spaniards then approached by favour of the darkness without being heard: the place was surprised at break of day, and they entered through three breaches at the same time.

Laudonnière had not had time to build up the ruined fortifications of Fort Carolina. Ribaut had left with him the women, children, and sick; and out of the two hundred and forty persons who were with him, only forty were in a condition to bear arms. He wished to withdraw to some secure place to make head against the enemy, and to wait for the assistance which might be furnished him by three ships which were still anchored in the bay; but, notwithstanding his valour, he could

not maintain his place, and he contented himself with protecting the retreat of the men rallied round him. Mélendez ordered the women and children to be spared; no mercy was shown to any others, and those who had escaped from the battle were reserved for the scaffold. Laudonnière having only one soldier, named Bartholomew, with him, retreated through a breach and gained the woods, where some others had taken refuge; thence they proceeded across the marsh to the mouth of the river. The ships received them: twenty others succeeded in escaping, and were taken up by the ships, which sailed along the coast for that purpose; and they set sail September 25th, to return to France.

A Spanish garrison was left by Mélendez in the fort which he had seized, whilst he himself hastily returned to St. Augustine, where he expected to be soon attacked. He was there received as a conqueror of the heretics, by the clergy bearing a cross, and singing a *Te Deum*.

This bloody expedition, in which all sentiments of humanity were stifled by military fury and religious fanaticism, took place September 20th. At this time the squadron of Ribaut was tossed about by tempests, and dispersed on the ocean. This violent storm lasted till the 23d: it had dispersed the French ships, and afterwards brought them together, and broken them to pieces on the rocks. The vessels perished, but the men were saved, only to meet with still greater misfortunes.

Some Indians gave information to Mélendez that a large number of white persons had appeared towards the south, on the other side of a river which they desired to cross. Mélendez took with him a detachment to discover who they were; and when he arrived at the banks of the river he saw a Frenchman swimming towards him, who told him that all these men were shipwrecked, and had formed part of Ribaut's squadron. A boat was then sent to the other side, to receive on board an officer and several men who were to represent the case of these unfortunate persons to Mélendez; they told him that they had lost in the last tempest all their vessels, and they begged him to lend them one

that they might return to Fort Carolina, which was situated twenty leagues farther towards the north. Mélendez replied that he had seized the fort, and destroyed the garrison, only sparing the Catholics, the women and children. The officer then asked him for a ship that they might return to France, on the ground that the nations were then on good terms, and the sovereigns friendly to one another. "It is true," replied Mélendez, "that the French Catholics are our allies and our friends: but not so with the heretics, against whom I will prosecute war to the utmost; I will show no mercy to any of this sect I meet with on land or sea; and in this I hope I serve both kings. I came to Florida to establish the Roman Catholic religion. If you will unconditionally surrender and deliver up your arms and ensigns, I will act towards you as God inspires me: if not, do what you please; but hope neither friendship nor mercy from me."

This reply was returned to the others, who offered a ranson of twenty thousand dollars for their lives. Mélendez refused, and said if he did do it, it would be from generosity. As they again made him this offer, he said he would rather see the heaven and earth joined together than change his resolution.

The envoys then determined to throw themselves on the mercy of Mélendez. They suffered themselves to be bound, and were marched between two files of musketeers to an eminence where their companions should be successively led. Mélendez sent his boat to the other side, with twenty soldiers, charging them to receive a detachment of only ten men at a time: they were also bound, and placed in the power of those whose assistance they had demanded; they were led to the place designed for their execution, and all these victims were there put to death one after another. Eight men declared that they were Catholics and they were spared; all the others declared that they were followers of the reformed religion, and were put to death. Two hundred men were thus sacrificed.

On the following day, Mélendez returned to St

Augustine. He soon learnt that a body of men more numerous than the first had arrived near the same place; and he proceeded towards the mouth of the river with one hundred and fifty soldiers. He learnt, by the message which was sent him, that this body consisted of three hundred and fifty men, commanded by Ribaut, viceroy and captain general of New France; that he desired to return to Fort Carolina, and begged the loan of a boat to cross the river that he had to pass. Ribaut soon came himself, in a small canoe, with eight gentlemen; and when he learnt the fate of the garrison, and that of the first persons who were shipwrecked, he told the Spanish general "that the occurrences of life were so various, that all which had happened to the French might one day happen to himself; that their kings were brothers and friends, and that, in the name of this alliance, he prayed him to furnish him with a vessel to return to France."

Ribaut received the same refusal as the commander of the first detachment; and when he announced it to his troops, two hundred men retired the following night, that they might not be left at the discretion of Mélendez: the remaining hundred and fifty consented to surrender to him; and Ribaut, who had promised to see him again, returned according to his word, and made known their resolution. These unfortunate persons were reserved for a similar fate: they were obliged to cross the river by detachments, and Mélendez inquired whether they were Catholics or Lutherans. Ribaut replied that they were of the reformed religion. He repeated these words; "*Domine, memento mei:*" he then said; "From the dust we are made, and unto dust we shall return; twenty years sooner or later, it is all the same. Let them do with me what they please." The signal for their execution was given; four men declared that they were Catholics, and were the only ones that were spared.

In order to relate these deplorable events, we have consulted the relations of the Spaniards themselves, particularly those of Solis de las Meras, brother-in-law

of Mélendez. We cannot suppose him capable of casting calumny on the memory of a relative, and we leave him, surrounded by his victims, to the judgment of posterity.

They learnt, three weeks after this bloody event, that the French were constructing a fort and a vessel on the coast of Canaveral. Mélendez believed them to be the two hundred men who had escaped the fate of Ribaut, and proceeded with a greater number of troops, to this coast, which he reached on the 1st of November. The French, not having finished their fortifications, retired to a height, and Mélendez proposed to them to join him, assuring them that he would treat them as his own soldiers: the greater part consented; but twenty of them declared that they would rather be devoured by the savages than put themselves in his power; and they fled into the forests.

We have seen that the prisoners taken by Mélendez, at the beginning of his expedition, had been sent on board a ship, to be transported to Spain; but they broke their fetters, seized the vessel, and changing its direction, they proceeded to Denmark, whence they reached France. These men were the sad remains of expeditions made at three periods, to found a colony in the north of Florida.

The news of the destruction of this colony excited the public indignation of the French; but the war against the Huguenots again broke out. The court hated them; it looked upon Admiral Coligni as their principal chief. All that he had done in behalf of the Protestants was considered as a consequence of criminal hostilities; and the persons who had enjoyed his favour were no longer protected by the power of the king. His projects of founding a colony were abandoned: they did not wish to be at war with Spain. They concealed the resentment excited by this bloody outrage; and a single soldier resolved to avenge it.

Captain Dominic de Gourgues, born at Mont-de-Marsau, had been employed in the service of the kings of France, in all their wars for thirty years. He had signalized himself by many heroic actions; and his last

deed in arms, in Italy, had been to sustain a siege with thirty men against a body of Spanish soldiers. The place was taken by assault, and the garrison put to the sword; they only spared the life of Gourgues to make him serve as a galley-slave. The ship in which he laboured was captured by the Turks, near the coast of Sicily, and conducted to Rhodes, and thence to Constantinople; but having been again sent to sea, he was retaken by Romegas, commander of the galleys of Malta. De Gourgues recovered his liberty and returned to France. He afterwards made a voyage to the coast of Africa, to Brazil and the Indian seas; and on his return to his country, he learnt the massacre of the French, established in the north of Florida, and he resolved to be revenged.

De Gourgues borrowed some money, and sold some of his property, to equip three ships, manned with one hundred and fifty soldiers and eighty sailors, with provisions for one year: his lieutenant was Captain Casenova. The expedition departed from Bourdeaux on the second of August, 1567; contrary winds kept them near Royau, and afterwards by the mouth of the Charente, whence they gained the sea. They reached the shores of Cuba, after a long voyage, and gained Cape St. Antonio, situated at the western extremity of this island. De Gourgues then assembled his crew and pictured to them the cruelties which the Spaniards had exercised towards the French. "Behold," added he, "the crime of our enemies; and what would ours be should we longer defer to revenge the affront which has been cast on the French nation! It is this that has engaged me to sell all my property; it is this which has opened to me the purses of my friends. I have reckoned upon you; I believed you jealous enough of the honour of your country, to sacrifice even your lives on an occasion of this importance. Am I deceived? I hope to give you an example—to be always at your head; will you refuse to follow me?" The soldiers declared that they would never forsake him.

The flotilla scudded along to the north of the island

to gain the Bahama channel; it reached the coasts of Florida, passed the river May, where the Spaniards saluted them with two cannons, and continued sailing along the coast till they had lost sight of the river. In the beginning of the night, De Gourgues landed, fifteen leagues to the north of the fortress, on the shores of the river which we have called Seine, and endeavoured to form amicable relations with Saturiova and the Indians, who were irritated at the ill treatment they had received since the departure of the French. A young man, named Pierre de Bray, a native of Havre, was found among this tribe; he was one of those who had escaped from Fort Carolina, when Mélendez had seized it, and had been humanely received by Saturiova. During his stay among the savages he learnt their language; he was able to serve as interpreter, and his intervention was so much the more useful, as the Indians joined De Gourgues' expedition. They agreed to meet him by the side of the river four leagues from the fort, and the captain sent some men to find out the condition of the enemy's entrenchments. Pedro Mélendez had left there four hundred Spaniards, under the command of Villaréal: they were distributed in three forts. The largest was that which had belonged to the French, and which had been put in a condition for defence. The other two had been built by Villaréal, at the distance of two leagues from the first, towards the lower part of the river, which separated them from one another. Each of these posts was guarded by sixty men.

The French and Indians crossed, without being perceived, a small river near one of the smaller forts. De Gourgues attacked it on both sides at once, and the enemy, not being able to withstand his impetuous shock, took to flight. They were between two fires, and not one of them escaped. The greater part were killed in battle; the others were reserved for a more dreadful death. The second fort was attacked with the same order: De Gourgues had crossed the river with twenty musketeers, and the Indians joined him by swimming. The enemy, forced from their entrench-

ments, endeavoured to retreat through the woods to the principal fort; but they met with the same fate as the first.

Before marching towards the large fort which contained two hundred and sixty men, De Gourgues sent the Indians to form ambuscades in the forest; he left an officer with fifteen musketeers in one of the small forts, ascended the river with his troops, and sought, in approaching the fortress, the means of attacking it at the point which appeared most accessible.

On the first rumour of his approach, Villaréal had sent a detachment of eighty men to watch the motions of the enemy. This corps was surrounded: De Gourgues attacked it in person; Casenova prevented their retreat, and they were cut in pieces. This battle so terrified the Spaniards in the fort, that they no longer thought of defending it; they precipitately escaped and fled into the forests; but they were there received by the Indians, who shot them with their arrows. The few who fell living into the hands of the conqueror, were hung on the same trees where, three years before, they had hung the French. It is said that Mélendez had attached to the place of execution the following inscription: "I do not treat them thus as Frenchmen, but as Protestants." De Gourgues placed the following inscription over his victims: "I do not this as unto Spaniards or mariners, but as unto traitors, robbers, and murderers."

The commander had not men enough to keep possession of the forts, and to establish themselves in a country where the Spaniards could easily collect a more numerous body of troops: he made the Indians destroy the fortifications, after having conveyed to his ships the pieces of artillery he found there. Casenova was charged to conduct this convoy to the river Seine, where the large ships had been left, and De Gourgues proceeded by land to the same point, with eighty musketeers, carrying with them lighted matches, and forty sailors armed with pikes. The Indians came from all

parts to honour him as their deliverer: he received them with many testimonials of friendship, and according to their wishes promised to return in twelve moons. His vessels were in a good condition and ready to sail· he embarked May 3d, 1558; his passage was prosperous: he sailed eleven hundred leagues in seventeen days, and continuing his voyage, arrived at Rochelle on the 6th of June. After having received in this city the most distinguished honours, he embarked for Bourdeaux, and hastened to give an account of his expedition to Montluc, who had favoured him, and who was then in the central part of France.

The report of this courageous enterprise was soon every where spread, and the Spanish vessels, which were cruising along the shores, hastened towards the entrance of the port of Rochelle to arrest De Gourgues on his passage; but they arrived too late. This officer had departed. They followed him to the entrance of the Goronde, and ascended this river to Blaye without being able to come up with him. De Gourgues afterwards went to Paris. He offered his services to the king, and proposed a plan for reducing to his authority the country he had discovered; but the Spanish government endeavoured to obtain justice from Charles IX. for this bloody outrage: they represented it as a crime against the alliance formed by the two courts, and De Gourgues was forced to fly to Rouen, and keep in concealment for some time.

This expedition will remain in history as a remarkable monument of patriotism and intrepidity; but in honouring it under this title, we must lament an age in which such terrible reprisals were considered as an act of justice. The reprisal not only reached the guilty; it fell on the innocent, and mingled the grossest injustice with revenge.

De Gourgues, persecuted and afterwards neglected by his sovereign, found strangers more benevolent towards him: Elizabeth, queen of England, gladly received him on account of his merit; and Don Antonio,

who pretended to the succession of Sebastian, king of Portugal, chose him, twelve years after, to be admiral of the fleet which he had armed against Spain; but De Gourgues was now enfeebled by age, and died before he had entered upon his duties.

The countries which this enterprising man had wished to reconquer, were now forgotten. They had cost useless sacrifices; an improvident policy had caused them to be abandoned; and if we inquire into the causes which made these great enterprises miscarry, we shall find them especially in the want of union. The men belonging to the first expedition were no longer in America when the government sent them its tardy assistance. Those of the second were preparing to quit their fortress; they had torn down the fortifications, and made them unfit to sustain a siege, when they were suddenly assaulted by an enemy superior in numbers. These contrarieties would not have taken place, had the project of founding a colony been executed with a spirit of union, which alone is sufficient to assure success.

But the character of Protestants, impressed on this new colony, exposed it, from its origin, to all the persecutions directed at that time in France against the Calvinists. It could not expect any assistance from the sovereign, when the reformers were at war with him. It was protected only during the truces which were sometimes made; but then the opportunity was lost, the fruit of their former labours could not be gathered in time, and the evil became irremediable when the government itself considered as mortal enemies all persons who were not of the Catholic faith.

The other governments of Europe, if they did not show themselves more tolerant towards those who had a different faith, had at least a policy more enlightened and more happy in its results. They exiled a part of the dissenters, and encouraged the others to emigrate; but they sent them from home into their colonies; they followed them with their supervision, and protected

them in their places of refuge: they only saw in these new establishments an increase of the power of the mother country. It was extending beyond the seas her power, commerce, and industry; and it opened to men discontented with their situation, another career and a new field for hope.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY INDIAN WARS OF VIRGINIA.



PREVIOUS to the final settlement of Virginia, many attempts at colonization were made on the soil of the United States. Several expeditions were sent to the coasts of Maine; and all readers of American history are familiar with the repeated unsuccessful attempts of Sir Walter Raleigh to establish a permanent colony in Roanoke, in North Carolina. At length, James I., having divided that portion of North America which extends from the thirty-eighth to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude, into two portions, the one called the first or south colony of Virginia, and the other the second or north colony, authorized Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and their associates in London, to settle any part of the former which they might choose; and several knights, gentlemen, and merchants, of Bristol and Plymouth, com-

monly called the Plymouth company, to occupy the latter.

After the lapse of a hundred and ten years from the discovery of the continent by Cabot, and twenty-two years after its first occupation by Raleigh, were the number of the English colonists limited to a hundred and five; and this handful of men proceeded to execute the arduous task of peopling a remote and uncultivated land, covered with woods and marshes, and inhabited only by tribes of savages and beasts of prey.

Newport and his squadron, pursuing for some unknown reason the ancient circuitous track to America, did not accomplish their voyage in a shorter period than four months; but its termination was rendered peculiarly fortunate by the effect of a storm which overruled their destination to Roanoke, and carried them into the bay of Chesapeake. As they advanced into the bay that seemed to invite their approach, they beheld all the advantages of this spacious haven, replenished by the waters of so many great rivers that fertilize the soil of that extensive district of America, and affording commodious inlets into the interior parts, facilitate their foreign commerce and mutual communication. Newport first landed on a promontory forming the southern boundary of the bay, which, in honour of the Prince of Wales, he named Cape Henry. Thence coasting the southern shore, he entered a river which the natives called Powhatan, and explored its banks for the space of forty miles from its mouth. Strongly impressed with the superior advantages of the coast and region to which they had been thus happily conducted, the adventurers unanimously determined to make this the place of their abode. They gave to their infant settlement, as well as to the neighbouring river, the name of their king; and Jamestown retains the distinction of being the oldest existing habitation of the English in America.

But the dissensions that broke out among the colonists soon threatened to deprive them of all the advantages of their well-selected station. Their animosities

were powerfully inflamed by an arrangement which, if it did not originate with the king, at least evinces a strong affinity to that ostentatious mystery and driftless artifice which he affected as the perfection of political dexterity. The names of the colonial council were not communicated to the adventurers when they departed from England; but a commission which contained them was inclosed in a sealed packet, which was directed to be opened within twenty-four hours after their arrival on the coast of Virginia, when the counsellors were to be installed into their office, and to elect their own president. The dissensions incident to a long voyage, and a body of adventurers rather conjoined than united, had free scope among men unaware of the relations they were to occupy towards each other, and of the subordination which their relative stations might imply; and when the names of the council were proclaimed, they were far from giving general satisfaction. Captain Smith, whose superior talents and courage had excited the envy and jealousy of his colleagues, was excluded from the seat in council which the commission conferred on him, and even accused of traitorous designs so unproved and improbable, that none less believed the charge than the parties who preferred it. The privation of his counsel and services in the difficulties of their outset was a serious loss to the colonists, and might have been attended with ruin to the settlement, if his merit and generosity had not been superior to their mean injustice. The jealous suspicions of the person who had been elected president restrained the use of arms, and discouraged the construction of fortifications; and a misunderstanding having arisen with the Indians, the colonists, unprepared for hostilities, suffered severely from one of the sudden attacks characteristic of the warfare of these savages.

Newport had been ordered to return with the ships to England; and as the time of his departure approached, the accusers of Smith, affecting a humanity they did not feel, proposed that he should return with Newport, instead of being prosecuted in Virginia. But,

happily for the colony, he scorned so to compromise his integrity; and demanding a trial, was honourably acquitted, and took his seat in the council.

The fleet had been better victualled than the stores of the colony; and while it remained with them, the colonists were permitted to share the abundance enjoyed by the sailors. But when Newport set sail for England, they found themselves limited to scanty supplies of unwholesome provisions; and the sultry heat of the climate, and moisture of a country overgrown with wood, concurring with the defects of their diet, brought on diseases that raged with fatal violence. Before the month of September, one half of their number had perished, and among them was Bartholomew Gosnold, who had planned the expedition, and eminently contributed to its accomplishment. This scene of distress was heightened by internal dissensions. The president was accused of embezzling the stores, and finally detected in an attempt to seize a pinnace and escape from the colony and its calamities. At length, in the extremity of their distress, when ruin seemed alike to impend from famine and the fury of the savages, the colony was delivered from danger by a supply which the piety of Smith is not ashamed to ascribe to the influence of God in suspending the passions and controlling the sentiments of men. The savages, actuated by a sudden change of feeling, presented them with a supply of provisions so abundant as at once to dissipate their apprehensions of famine and hostility.

Resuming their spirit, the colonists now proved themselves not entirely uninstructed by their misfortunes. In seasons of exigency, merit is illustrated, and the envy that pursues it, absorbed by interest and alarm. Their sense of common and inevitable danger suggested and enforced submission to the man whose talents were most likely to extricate them from the difficulties with which they were surrounded. Every eye was now turned on Smith, and all willingly devolved on him the authority which they had formerly evinced so much jealousy of his acquiring. This eminent person, whose

name will be for ever associated with the foundation of civilized society in America, was descended of a respectable family in Lincolnshire, and born to a competent fortune. At a very early age his ardent mind had been strongly smitten with the spirit of adventure that prevailed so powerfully in England during the reign of Elizabeth; and, yielding to his inclinations, he had passed through a vast variety of military service, with little gain, but great reputation, and with the acquisition of an experience the more valuable that it was obtained without exhausting his ardour or tainting his morals. The vigour of his constitution had preserved his health unimpaired amidst the general sickness; his undaunted temper retained his spirits unbroken, and his judgment unclouded, amidst the general misery and dejection; and the ardour of his disposition, which once subjected him to the reproach of overweening ambition, was now felt to diffuse an animating glow of hope and courage among all around him. A strong sense of religion predominated in the mind of this superior man, combined and subordinated all his faculties, refreshed his confidence, extended and yet regulated his views, and gave dignity to his character, and consistency to his conduct. Assuming the direction of the affairs of the colonists, he instantly adopted the only plan that could save them from destruction. Under his directions James-Town was fortified by such defences as were sufficient to repel the attacks of the savages; and, by dint of great labour, which he was always the foremost to share, the colonists were provided with dwellings that afforded shelter from the weather, and contributed to restore and preserve their health. Finding the supplies of the savages discontinued, he put himself at the head of a detachment of his people, and penetrated into the country; and by courtesy and liberality to the tribes whom he found well disposed, and vigorously repelling the hostilities of such as were otherwise minded, he obtained for the colony the most abundant supplies.

In the midst of his successes he was surprised on an expedition, by a hostile body of savages, who, having



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succeeded in making him prisoner, after a gallant and nearly successful defence, prepared to inflict on him the usual fate of their captives. His eminent faculties did not desert him on this trying occasion. He desired to speak with the sachem or chief, and, presenting him with a mariner's compass, expatiated on the wonderful discoveries to which it had led, described the shape of the earth, the vastness of its lands and oceans, the course of the sun, the varieties of nations, and the singularity of their relative positions, which made some of them antipodes to the others. With equal prudence and magnanimity he refrained from all solicitations for his life, which would only have weakened the impression which he hoped to produce. The savages listened with amazement and admiration. They had handled the compass, and viewing with surprise the play of the needle, which they plainly saw, but found it impossible to touch, from the intervention of the glass, this marvellous object prepared their minds for the reception of those vast impressions by which their captive endeavoured to gain ascendency over them. For an hour after he had finished his harangue, they seem to have remained undecided; till their habitual sentiments reviving, they resumed their suspended purpose, and, having bound him to a tree, prepared to dispatch him with their arrows. But a stronger impression had been made on their chief; and his soul, enlarged for a season by the admission of knowledge, or subdued by the influence of wonder, revolted from the dominion of habitual ferocity. This chief was named Opechancanough, and destined at a future period to invest his barbarous name with terror and celebrity. Holding up the compass in his hand, he gave the signal of reprieve, and Smith, though still guarded as a prisoner, was conducted to a dwelling where he was kindly treated, and plentifully entertained. (*See Engraving, on the opposite page.*) But the strongest impressions pass away, while the influence of habit remains. After vainly endeavouring to prevail on their captive to betray the English colony into their hands, they referred his fate to Powhatan, the king or principal sachem of

the country, to whose presence they conducted him in triumphal procession. The king received him with much ceremony, ordered a plentiful repast to be set before him, and then adjudged him to suffer death by having his head laid on a stone and beat to pieces with clubs. At the place appointed for this barbarous execution, he was again rescued from impending fate by the interposition of Pocahontas, the favourite daughter of the king, who, finding her first entreaties disregarded, threw her arms around the prisoner, and declared her determination to save him or die with him. Her generous affection prevailed over the cruelty of her tribe, and the king not only gave Smith his life, but soon after sent him back to James-Town, where the beneficence of Pocahontas continued to follow him with supplies of provisions that delivered the colony from famine.

After an absence of seven weeks, Smith returned to James-Town, barely in time to prevent the desertion of the colony. His associates, reduced to the number of thirty-eight, impatient of farther stay in a country where they had met with so many discouragements, and where they seemed fated to re-enact the disasters of Roanoke, were preparing to abandon the settlement; and it was not without the utmost difficulty, and alternately employing persuasion, remonstrance, and even violent interference, that Smith prevailed with them to relinquish their design. The provisions that Pocahontas had sent to him relieved their present wants; his account of the plenty he had witnessed among the savages revived their hopes; and he endeavoured, by a diligent improvement of the favourable impressions he had made upon the savages, and by a judicious regulation of the intercourse between them and the colonists, to effect a union of interests and mutual participation of advantages between the two races of people. His generous efforts were successful; he preserved plenty among the English, and extended his influence and repute among the Indians, who began to respect and consult their former captive as a superior being. If Smith had sought only to magnify his own repute

and establishing his dominion, he might easily have passed with the savages for a demigod; for they were not more averse to yield the allegiance which he claimed for their Creator, than forward to render it to himself, and to embrace every pretension he might advance in his own behalf. But no alluring prospect of dominion over men could tempt him to forget that he was the servant of God, or aspire to be regarded in any other light by his fellow-creatures. He employed his best endeavours to divert the savages from their idolatrous superstition, and made them all aware that the man whose superiority they acknowledged despised their false deities, adored the true God, and obtained from Him, by prayer, the wisdom they so highly commended. The effect of his pious endeavours was obstructed by imperfect acquaintance with their language, and very ill seconded by the conduct of his associates, which contributed to persuade the Indians that his religion was something peculiar to himself. The influence, too, of human superiority, however calculated to impress, is by no means formed to convert the mind. It is so apt to give a wrong direction to the impressions which it produces, and is so remote from the channel in which Christianity from the beginning has been appointed to flow, that the first and most successful efforts to convert mankind were made by men who possessed little of it, and who renounced the little they possessed. Smith, partly from the difficulties of his situation, partly from the defectiveness of his instruction, and, doubtless, in no small degree, from the stubborn blindness and wilful ignorance of the persons he attempted to instruct, succeeded no farther than Heriot had formerly done. The savages extended their respect for the man to a Being whom they termed "the God of Captain Smith," and some of them acknowledged that this Being excelled their own deities in the same proportion that artillery excelled bows and arrows, and sent to James-Town to entreat that Smith would pray for rain when their idols seemed to refuse a supply.

While the affairs of the colony were thus prosperous

under the direction of Captain Smith, a reinforcement of a hundred and twenty men, with an abundant stock of provisions, and a supply of seeds and instruments of husbandry, arrived in two vessels from England. Universal joy was excited among the colonists by this accession to their comforts and their force.

Of the recruits which were thus furnished to the colony, a large proportion were gentlemen jewellers and refiners of gold. Some of the latter fancied they had discovered gold dust in a small stream of water near James-Town; and instantly the whole attention of the colonists was directed to the collection of this material, of which a large quantity was shipped to England, and found to be worthless dross.

While the colonists were thus occupied, Captain Smith explored the whole coast of Chesapeake bay, and furnished a valuable map of his discoveries, which has formed the groundwork of all subsequent delineations. On his return he was chosen president of the council; which office he discharged with consummate ability.

What one governor afterwards effected in this respect by the weight of an imposing rank, and others by the strong engine of martial law, Smith, without these advantages, and with greater success, accomplished by the continual application of his own vigour and activity. Some plots were formed against him; but these he detected and defeated without either straining or compromising his authority. The caprice and suspicion of the Indians assailed him with numberless trials of his temper and capacity. Even Powhatan, notwithstanding the friendly ties that united him to his ancient guest, was induced, by the treacherous artifices of certain Dutchmen, who deserted to him from James-Town, first to form a secret conspiracy, and then to excite and prepare open hostility against the colonists. Some of the fraudful designs of the royal savage were revealed by the unabated kindness of Pocahontas, others were detected by Captain Smith, and from them all he contrived to extricate the colony with honour and suc-

cess, and yet with little, and only defensive, bloodshed; displaying to the Indians a vigour and dexterity they could neither overcome nor overreach—a courage that commanded their respect, and a generosity that carried his victory into their minds, and reconciled submission with their pride. In thus demonstrating (to use his own words) "what small cause there is that men should starve or be murdered by the savages, that have discretion to manage them with courage and industry," he bequeathed a valuable lesson to his successors in the American colonies, and to all succeeding settlers in the vicinity of savage tribes; and in exemplifying the power of a superior people to anticipate the cruel and vulgar issue of battle, and to prevail over an inferior race without either extirpating or enslaving them, he obtained a victory which Cæsar, with all his boasted superiority to the rest of mankind, was too ungenerous to appreciate, or was incompetent to achieve.

But Smith was not permitted to complete the work he had so honourably begun. A wound received from an explosion of gunpowder compelled his return to England.

We pass over the events immediately subsequent to his departure, which took place in October, 1609. It was in the year 1613, and under the administration of Sir Thomas Gates, that an event took place of unusual interest to the readers of Indian history.

The colony of Virginia had once been saved, in the person of its own deliverer Captain Smith, by Pocahontas, the daughter of the Indian king Powhatan. She had ever since maintained a friendly intercourse with the English, and she was destined now to render them a service of the highest importance. A scarcity prevailing at James-Town, and supplies being obtained but scantily and irregularly from the neighbouring Indians, with whom the colonists were often embroiled, Captain Argal was dispatched to the Potomac for a cargo of corn. Here he learned that Pocahontas was living in retirement at no great distance from him: and hoping, by possession of her person, to obtain such

an ascendant over Powhatan as would enforce an ample contribution of provisions, he prevailed on her, by some artifice, to come on board his vessel, and then set sail with her to James-Town, where she was detained in a state of honourable captivity. But Powhatan, more indignant at such treachery than overcome by his misfortune, rejected with scorn the demand of a ransom; he even refused to hold any communication with the robbers who still kept his daughter a prisoner, but declared that if she were restored to him he would forget the injury, and, feeling himself at liberty to regard them as friends, would gratify all their wishes. But the colonists were too conscious of not deserving the performance of such promises, to be able to give credit to them; and the most injurious consequences seemed likely to arise from the unjust detention, which they could no longer continue with advantage nor relinquish with safety, when all at once the aspect of affairs underwent a surprising and beneficial change. During her residence in the colony, Pocahontas, who is represented as a woman distinguished by her personal attractions, made such impression on Mr. Rolfe, a young man of rank and estimation among the settlers, that he offered her his hand, and, with her approbation and the warm encouragement of the governor, solicited the consent of Powhatan to their marriage: this the old prince readily granted, and sent some of his relations to attend the ceremonial, which was performed with extraordinary pomp, and laid the foundation of a firm and sincere friendship between his tribe and the English. This happy event also enabled the colonial government to conclude a treaty with the Chiccahominies, a brave and martial tribe, who consented to acknowledge themselves subjects to the British monarch, and style themselves henceforward Englishmen, to assist the colonists with their arms in war, and to pay an annual tribute of Indian corn.

From this period till the year 1622 no considerable Indian war occurred in Virginia. During this interval, Powhatan, who was, on the whole, rather friendly to

the colonists, had died and been succeeded in his influence over the Indian tribes of the vicinity by Opechancanough, who was the implacable but secret enemy of the English. The colony had been steadily advancing in peace and prosperity, and the people had thrown off the vigilance so necessary to their preservation among powerful and hostile tribes of savages They thought themselves secure.

But a cloud had been for some time gathering over the colony, and even the circumstances that most forcibly indicated the growing prosperity of the planters were but inviting and enabling the storm to burst with more destructive violence on their heads. Externally at peace with the Indians, unapprehensive of danger, and wholly engrossed with the profitable cultivation of their fertile territory, their increasing numbers had spread so extensively over the province, that no less than eighty settlements had already been formed; and every planter being guided only by his own convenience or caprice in the choice of his dwelling, and more disposed to shun than to court the neighbourhood of his countrymen, the settlements were universally straggling and uncompact. The Scriptures, which the colonists received as their rule of faith, bore ample testimony to the cruelty and treachery of mankind in their natural state; and their past experience might have convinced them that the savages by whom they were surrounded could claim no exemption from this testimony of Divine wisdom and truth. Yet the pious labours by which the evil dispositions of the Indians might have been overcome, and the military exercises and precautions by which their hostility might have been overawed or repelled, were equally neglected by the colonists, while, at the same time, they contributed to fortify the martial habits of the Indians by employing them as hunters, and enlarged their resources of destruction by furnishing them with fire-arms, which they quickly learned to use with dexterity. The marriage of Mr. Rolfe and Pocahontas had not produced as lasting a good understanding between the English

and the Indians as it had at first seemed to betoken The Indians eagerly courted a repetition of such intermarriages, and were deeply offended with the pride with which the English receded from their advances, and declined to become the husbands of Indian women. The colonists forgot that they had inflicted this mortification; but it was remembered by the Indians, who never forgave an affront. Numberless earnest recommendations had been transmitted from England to attempt the conversion of the savages; but these recommendations had not been enforced by a sufficient attention to the means requisite for their execution. Yet they were not wholly neglected by the colonists. Some attempts at conversion were made by a few pious individuals, and the success of one of them undoubtedly mitigated the dreadful calamity that was impending; but these efforts were feeble and partial, and the majority of the colonists had contented themselves with cultivating a friendly intercourse and intimate acquaintance with the Indians, who were admitted at all times into their habitations, and encouraged to consider themselves as familiar guests. It was in the midst of this free and unguarded intercourse that the Indians formed, with cold and unrelenting deliberation, the plan for a general massacre of the English, which should involve every man, woman and child in the colony in indiscriminate slaughter. The death of Powhatan, in 1618, devolved the power of executing a scheme so detestable in the hands of a man fully capable of contriving and maturing it. Opechancanough, who succeeded, not only to the supremacy over Powhatan's tribe, but to his influence over all the neighbouring tribes of Indians, was distinguished by his fearless courage, his profound dissimulation, and a rancorous hatred and jealousy of the new inhabitants of America. He renewed the pacific treaty which Powhatan had made, and faithfully kept, with the English after the marriage of Pocahontas to Mr. Rolfe; and he availed himself of the tranquillity it produced to prepare, during the four ensuing years, his friends and

followers for the several parts they were to act in the tragedy he projected. The tribes in the neighbourhood of the English, except those on the eastern shore, whom, on account of their peculiar friendship for the colonists, he did not venture to intrust with the plan, were successively gained over; and all co-operated with that single-mindedness and intensity of purpose characteristic of a project of Indian revenge. Notwithstanding the long interval that elapsed between the formation and the execution of their present enterprise, and the perpetual intercourse that subsisted between them and the white people, the most impenetrable secresy was preserved; and so consummate and fearless was their dissimulation, that they were accustomed to borrow boats from the English to cross the river, in order to concert and communicate the progress of their design.

An incident, which, though minute, is too curious to be omitted, contributed to sharpen the ferocity of the Indians by the sense of recent provocation. There was a man, belonging to one of the neighbouring tribes, named Nemattanow, who, by his courage, craft, and good fortune, had attained the highest repute among his countrymen. In the skirmishes and engagements which their former wars with the English produced, he had exposed his person with a bravery that commanded their esteem, and an impunity that excited their astonishment. They judged him invulnerable, whom so many wounds seemed to have approached in vain; and the object of their admiration partook, or at least encouraged, the delusion which seemed to invest him with a character of sanctity. Opechancanough, the king, whether jealous of this man's reputation, or desirous of embroiling the English with the Indians, sent a message to the governor of the colony, to acquaint him that he was welcome to cut Nemattanow's throat. Such a representation of Indian character as this message conveyed, one would think, ought to have excited the strongest suspicion and distrust in the minds of the English. Though the offer of the king was disregarded, his wishes were not disappointed. Nemattanow, having

murdered a planter, was shot by one of his servants in an attempt to apprehend him. Finding the pangs of death coming strong upon him, the pride, but not the vanity, of the savage was subdued, and he entreated his captors to grant his two last requests, one of which was that they would never reveal that he had been slain by a bullet, and the other, that they would bury him among the English, that the secret of his mortality might never be known to his countrymen. The request seems to infer the possibility of its being complied with, and the disclosure of the fatal event was no less imprudent than disadvantageous. The Indians were filled with grief and indignation; and Opechancanough inflamed their anger by pretending to share it. Having counterfeited displeasure for the satisfaction of his subjects, he proceeded with equal success to counterfeit placability for the delusion of his enemies, and assured the English that the sky should sooner fall than the peace be broken by him. But the plot now advanced rapidly to its maturity, and, at length, the day was fixed on which all the English settlements were at the same instant to be attacked. The respective stations of the various troops of assassins were assigned to them; and that they might be enabled to occupy them without exciting suspicion, some carried presents of fish and game into the interior of the colony, and others presented themselves as guests soliciting the hospitality of their English friends, on the evening before the massacre. As the fatal hour drew nigh, the rest, under various pretences, and with every demonstration of kindness, assembled around the detached and unguarded settlements of the colonists; and not a sentiment of compunction, not a rash expression of hate, nor an unguarded look of exultation, had occurred to disconcert or disclose the designs of their well-disciplined ferocity.

The universal destruction of the colonists seemed unavoidable, and was prevented only by the consequences of an event which perhaps appeared but of little consequence in the colony at the time when it took place—the conversion of an Indian to the Chris-

tian faith. On the night before the massacre, this man was made privy to it by his own brother, who communicated to him the command of his king and his countrymen to share in the exploit that would enrich their race with spoil, revenge and glory. The exhortation was powerfully calculated to impress a savage mind; but a new mind had been given to this convert, and as soon as his brother left him he revealed the alarming intelligence to an English gentleman in whose house he was residing. This planter immediately carried the tidings to James-Town, from whence the alarm was communicated to the nearest settlers, barely in time to prevent the last hour of the perfidious truce from being the last hour of their lives.

But the intelligence came too late to be more generally available. At midday, the moment they had previously fixed for this execrable deed, the Indians, raising a universal yell, rushed at once on the English in all their scattered settlements, and butchered men, women and children with undistinguishing fury, and every aggravation of brutal outrage and enormous cruelty. In one hour, three hundred and forty-seven persons were cut off, almost without knowing by whose hands they fell. The slaughter would have been still greater if the English, even in some of those districts where the warning that saved others did not reach, had not flown to their arms with the energy of despair, and defended themselves so bravely as to repulse the assailants, who almost universally displayed a cowardice proportioned to their cruelty, and fled at the sight of arms in the hands even of the women and boys, whom, unarmed, they were willing to attack and destroy. If in this foul and revolting exhibition of humanity some circumstances appear to be referable to the peculiarities of savage life and education, we shall greatly err if we overlook, in its more general and important features, the testimony it has given to the deep depravity of fallen nature. More than one example may be found in the contemporary history of Europe, which, impartially considered, present, not only a bar-

barous people, but a civilized nation and an accomplished court, as the rivals of these American savages in perfidy, fury and cruelty.

The colony had received a wound no less deep and dangerous, than painful and alarming. Six of the members of council, and many of the most eminent and respectable inhabitants, were among the slain; at some of the settlements the whole of their population had been exterminated; at others a remnant had escaped the general destruction by the efforts of despair; and the survivors were impoverished, terrified, and confounded by a stroke that at once bereaved them of friends and fortune, and showed that they were surrounded by legions of enemies, whose existence they had never dreamed of, and whose brutality and ferocity seemed to proclaim them a race of fiends rather than men. To the massacre succeeded a vindictive and exterminating war between the English and the Indians; and the colonists were at last provoked to retaliate, in some degree, on their savage adversaries, the evils of which they had set so bloody an example, and which seemed to be the only weapons capable of waging effectual war upon them. Yet though a direful necessity might seem to justify or palliate the measures which it taught the colonists to apprehend and provide for, their warfare was never wholly divested of honour and magnanimity. During this disastrous period, the design for erecting a colonial college, and many other public institutions, was abandoned; the number of the settlements was reduced from eighty to six; and the affliction of scarcity was added to the horrors of war.

The hostility of Opechancanough did not terminate with the massacre. His implacable disposition was manifested late in 1622, by his instigating Japazaws, king of the Patawomekes, to murder a party under Captain Croshaw, while on a trading expedition in his country.

The colonists, however, were by no means unsuccessful in revenging the great massacre on their ene-

mies; and it is affirmed that in the autumn and winter of 1622–3, more Indians were slain than had ever before fallen by the hands of the English since the settlement of James-Town.

But Opechancanough was still able to make a formidable opposition to his enemies, and at a battle which took place at his own village of Pamunkey, in 1625, his bowmen numbered eight hundred, independently of detachments furnished from distant tribes. The English on this occasion were led by Governor Wyatt, and although they drove the enemy from the field, they were unable to follow them up to their headquarters at Matapony. An attempt to repeat the treacherous scheme by which the Indians had been defeated in 1622 was made in 1628; but was frustrated by the sagacity of Opechancanough; and the formal treaty of 1632 was little better than a hollow and deceitful truce.

Opechancanough, however, was by no means backward in taking advantage of the repose afforded by this treaty. For the long period which elapsed between its conclusion and his final effort, in 1644, he was industriously occupied in making preparations for a renewal of hostilities. An opportunity at length presented itself for executing his long-cherished purpose. The colony was involved in intestine dissensions. An insurrection had taken place in consequence of the unpopularity of the governor, and at a moment when the people were occupied with internal disorders and heedless of danger from without, their great enemy struck a powerful and almost fatal blow.

He was now advanced to extreme old age, being supposed to have numbered nearly a hundred years, but the powers of his mind were still so vigorous, that he was the leading spirit of a confederacy embracing all the Indian tribes distributed over a space of country six hundred miles in extent. Unable to walk, he was borne in a litter to the scene of action (April 18th, 1644,) and thus led his warriors to the attack. Such was the skill with which his measures had been con-

certed that the whole force of the Indians commenced their operations upon the entire line of the frontier at the same instant of time, with the intention of carrying a war of extermination down to the sea, and thus annihilating the colony at a single blow. In two days, five hundred persons had fallen in the massacre. Of course, every operation of industry was instantly abandoned, and all who were able to bear arms were embodied to oppose so terrible an invasion. Governor Berkeley, at the head of a chosen force, consisting of every twentieth man in the colony, marched into the enemy's country, and thus gave him the first check. Of the details of the campaign, in consequence of the confusion and distress prevailing at the time, no details are furnished by the contemporary historians. Beverly's account, the only one which survived the ravages of the time, is meagre and unsatisfactory. One result of the war, however, is sufficiently well attested, since it terminated the horrors of the season. This was the capture of the aged Opechancanough, who was surprised and taken prisoner by a squadron of horse under the command of Governor Berkeley, who forthwith conducted him in triumph to James-Town.

It was the governor's intention to have sent this remarkable person to England; but he was shot after being taken prisoner, by a soldier, in resentment of the calamities he had inflicted on the province. He lingered under the wound for several days, and died with the pride and firmness of an old Roman. Indignant at the crowds who came to gaze at him on his death-bed, he exclaimed: "If I had taken Sir William Berkeley prisoner, I would not have exposed him as a show to the people." Perhaps he remembered that he had saved the life of Captain Smith, and forgot the numberless instances in which he had exposed other prisoners to public derision and lingering torture.

After the decease of their great enemy, the colonists had no difficulty in concluding a treaty with the Indians, which gave tranquillity to the province for a long term of years.

CHAPTER III.

EARLY INDIAN RELATIONS OF NEW ENGLAND.



IT was on the eighth of December, 1620, that the first act of hostility on the part of the Indians towards the Pilgrim Fathers of New England took place. A party of eighteen men from the May-Flower, under the command of Governor Carver, were exploring the coast, in order to find a suitable place for forming a settlement, when a party who had landed were suddenly surprised with the shrill war-cry of the natives, and a flight of arrows. They immediately seized their arms, and returned this rough salutation with a volley of musketry, which instantly put their enemies to flight. On the eleventh of the same month, the Pilgrims went on shore upon the main land, at the place which they called Plymouth.

As they advanced into the country, they found cornfields, and brooks, and an excellent situation for building. "On the morning of the 20th," says the venerable Dr. Holmes, "after imploring divine guidance, they went on shore again, to fix on some place for immediate settlement. After viewing the country, they *concluded* to settle on a high ground facing the bay, where the land was cleared, and the water was excellent.' This day, consecrated by the religious act abovemen-

tioned, is the one which their descendants still celebrate as the day of their landing.

Before the end of the month, they had erected a store-house for their goods. Two rows of houses were begun, and as fast as they could be completed, the people, who were classed into nineteen families, came ashore and lodged in them. The hardships to which they were exposed, and the severity of the climate, caused so great a mortality, that before the next April nearly half of their number had died. None of the natives came among them until the sickness had abated.

On the 16th of March, 1621, a savage came boldly into the town alone, and, to the astonishment of the emigrants, addressed them in these words, "Welcome, Englishmen! Welcome, Englishmen!" His name was Samoset, and he was a sagamore of a tribe of Indians distant five days' journey to the eastward. He had learned a few words of English from the fishermen who had frequented the shores of his country. By him the governor was informed that the place where they now were, was called Patuxet, and, though it was formerly populous, that every human being had died of that pestilence which is known to have swept through all the Indian tribes of New England, but a short time previous to the settlement of the country by the English. His account was confirmed by the extent of the deserted fields, the number of graves, and the remnant of skeletons scattered on the ground. Being dismissed with a present, he returned the next day with five Indians, who brought a few skins for trade. On a third visit, Samoset was accompanied by Squanto, one of the natives who had been kidnapped by Hunt in 1614 and afterwards lived in England. They gave the information that the great sachem Massasoit was in the neighbourhood, with his brother and a number of his people. This chief was a sort of emperor among the surrounding tribes, and commanded the homage of all the sachems in his vicinity. Within an hour, he appeared on the top of a hill, over against the English town, with sixty men.

"Mutual distrust," says Dr. Holmes, in his account of this important and interesting meeting, "prevented for some time any advances on either side. Squanto, at length, being sent to Massassoit, brought back word, that the English should send one of their number to parley with him. Mr. Edward Winslow was accordingly sent. Two knives, and a copper chain, with a jewel in it, were sent to Massasoit at the same time; and to his brother, a knife, and a jewel, "with a pot of strong water," a quantity of biscuit, and some butter, all which articles were gladly accepted. Mr. Winslow, the messenger, in a speech to Massasoit, signified, that King James saluted him with words of love and peace, and that the English governor desired to see him, and to truck with him, and to confirm a peace with him, as his next neighbour. The Indian king heard his speech with attention and approbation. After partaking of the provision which made part of the English present, and imparting the rest to his company, he looked on Mr. Winslow's sword and armour with an intimation of his desire to buy it; but found him unwilling to part with it. At the close of the interview, Massasoit, leaving Mr. Winslow in the custody of his brother, went over the brook, which separated him from the English, with a train of twenty men, whose bows and arrows were left behind. He was met at the brook by Captain Standish and Mr. Williamson, with six musketeers, who conducted him to a house then in building, where were placed a green rug and three or four cushions. The governor now advanced, attended with a drum and trumpet, and a few musketeers. After mutual salutations, the governor called for refreshments, of which the Indian king partook himself, and imparted to his followers. A league of friendship was then agreed on; and it was inviolably observed above fifty years."

One of the first acts of the administration of Governor Bradford, who, soon after the conclusion of the treaty, succeeded Carver, was to send an embassy to Massasoit, for the purpose of confirming the league with the Indian sachem; of procuring seed-corn for the nex

planting season; and of exploring the country. The friendship of the powerful Massasoit, thus secured, was the most fortunate circumstance in the early history of New England. It was his influence alone which restrained the hostility of all the surrounding tribes, who are well known to have been fully aware of the danger to which the invasion of the English exposed them; and who were always ready to enter into any measures which promised their complete extirpation. This fact was sufficiently apparent, when his friendly disposition, together with the intercession of Roger Williams, prevented a general union of the other tribes with the Pequods in 1637; and still more when his death had given the inheritance of his power and influence to his son Philip, who was thus enabled to organize and conduct the first general Indian war of New England in 1675–6.

After the league with Massasoit was concluded, Corbitant, one of his subordinate sachems, displayed signs of hostility, and attempted to organize a rebellion against his sovereign. His machinations were, however, promptly disconcerted by a hostile visit from the renowned Captain Miles Standish, with a small party of soldiers. The decision evinced on this occasion, and the example of Massasoit, speedily brought in nine more sachems, who came to Plymouth and signed an instrument of submission to King James. Other sachems afterwards made a similar submission; among whom were those of Paomet, Nauset, Cummaquid, and Namashet, with several others about the bays of Patuxet and Massachusetts.

In 1622, when the Plymouth settlers were distressed by famine, in consequence of the arrival of new emigrants, without a sufficient stock of provision, Canonicus, the sachem of the Narragansetts, deeming it a favourable opportunity to rid the country of these unwelcome intruders, declared his hostility. He sent them a characteristic challenge, which was nothing more nor less than a bundle of arrows tied together with a snake-skin. The governor sent an answer that



if they chose war rather than peace, they might begin when they would, the English were ready. By a different messenger, and as a more appropriate answer to the challenge, the snake-skin was returned, well filled with powder and bullets. (*See Engraving, on the opposite page.*) This portentous token the Indians refused to receive; they were even afraid to let it remain in their houses; and, in their superstition, doubtless considering it some '*great medicine*,' they caused it to be brought back to Plymouth. It put an end, however, to the blustering of Canonicus; but his being thus intimidated did not prevent the English from erecting such fortifications about their town as sufficiently secured them from being surprised by their savage neighbours.

Intelligence being received at Plymouth, in 1623, that Massasoit was sick and likely to die, the governor sent Edward Winslow and John Hampden, with Hobomack, a friendly Indian, to visit him. It was the good fortune of Mr. Winslow, by means of certain cordials which he carried with him, to restore this illustrious friend of the English to health; and through Hobomack, he received from the sachem information of a plot of the Massachusetts tribe against certain English settled at Wessagusset, under Mr. Weston; and moreover that the Indians of Paomet, Nauset, Mattachiest, the Isle of Capawick, Manomet and Agawaywom were joined in the conspiracy; and the great sachem advised a decided hostile movement against the conspirators.

This intelligence being confirmed, Captain Standish was ordered to take with him as many men as he thought sufficient, and fall upon the conspirators. The redoubted captain deemed eight chosen followers an ample detachment; and, with this small number, he accordingly made a visit to the Massachusetts, where, after being insulted and threatened by the Indians, he succeeded in decoying four of them, Wittawamet, Peeksuot, another Indian, and a youth of 18, into a room with a part of his own men, where he and his party killed them all; and being subsequently seconded by Weston's men, they killed several more Indians, and

after a skirmish, put their main body to flight. This decided measure broke up the conspiracy; and the other Indians, who had intended to join it, fled to swamps and desert places, where they contracted diseases which carried off many of them; among whom were Canacum, sachem of Manomet; Aspinet, sachem of Nauset; and Ianough, sachem of Matachiest. The settlement at Wessagusset was, nevertheless, abandoned by the English.

No incident of particular interest in relation to the Indians of New England, took place subsequently to this, until the Pequod war of 1637, of which we shall give an account in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PEQUOD WAR.



THE Pequods were inhabitants of that portion of New England which is now included within the limits of the state of Connecticut. This was not their original abode, for they came from the interior of the country, conquered the tribes who resided in this region, and took possession of their lands. At the period in which the English arrived, they were the most powerful tribe in the neighbourhood, being able to muster four thousand warriors. The Narragansetts were the only tribe who were able to oppose them, and between the two a deadly feud existed.

Sassacus was the first great sachem of the Pequods personally known to the English. His principal fortress was on an eminence in the town of Groton. He, as well as his tribe, were, from the first landing of the English, of a hostile disposition towards them. He considered them as intruders invading his country without asking his permission; building forts and villages in it without consulting him; and he therefore determined to take every measure to get rid of them.

We do not know clearly which party it was that gave the first provocation. It is related that Captain Stone, while on a voyage to Virginia, in 1633, put into the Connecticut river, where he as well as his crew were massacred by the Indians. According to the English accounts, a few of the men went on shore to shoot some fowl, and were there murdered. A sachem, with a part of his tribe, then came on board the vessel and staid till the captain had retired to rest. The sachem then dispatched Stone, while the Indians discharged such guns as they found loaded, at the men who were then in the cook's room. At this moment, the vessel was blown up by the powder which was on board of it taking fire. Most of the Indians escaped, and they began to murder those of the crew who had not been destroyed, so that not one of them was left.

This is the English account of the transaction; but the Indians tell quite a different story. They assert that Captain Stone had taken two of their men by force, to pilot the vessel up the river. The captain and some of his men then went on shore, taking with them the two Indians, and were there killed. The vessel was then blown up, killing the remainder of the crew: but they knew not how this took place.

A treaty was soon afterwards concluded between the Pequods and English. The principal terms were as follows: That the English should have as much land in Connecticut as they wanted; that the Pequods should give the English four hundred fathoms of wampum; that the English should send a vessel immediately to trade with them as friends, though not to protect them.

The principal object of Sassacus in making this treaty, was that he might have their commerce in peace. He had quarrelled with the Dutch of New York, and thereby lost their custom and incurred their hostility.

The Pequods were as usual at war with the Narragansetts. As the Indians who had just completed the above treaty were on the eve of departure, news was brought that a party of Narragansetts was about to waylay and murder them. This party was, however, by means of presents and promises, persuaded by the English to depart quietly to their homes.

Matters continued in this condition till 1636. In this year, John Oldham, an Englishman, who had been trading in Connecticut, was murdered in his boat, near Block Island, by a party of Indians belonging to that place. Several of these Indians took refuge among the Pequods, and as the latter refused to give them up, they were considered as abettors of the crime. The governor of Massachusetts therefore sent Captain John Endicott against them, with a force of ninety men. He was ordered to make a treaty of peace with them, provided they would deliver up the murderers; and if they refused, he was to declare war.

On the arrival of Endicott and his party in the Pequod country, the Indians retreated into a swamp, where it was difficult to come at them. Only two of them were killed; but the English burnt their wigwams. About the same time it was determined to conclude a treaty with the Narragansetts, to prevent their joining the Pequods. A treaty was accordingly concluded, and the English thus succeeded in obtaining an ally which could bring five thousand fighting men into the field.

The Indians were emboldened by Endicott's unsuccessful expedition. They killed several men and women, and about twenty cows. The colony therefore determined to take measures to put a stop to their proceedings. Accordingly, at the general court held at Hartford, it was decided that a force of ninety men

should be immediately raised in Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield; and the other New England colonies agreed to send as many men as they could raise.

In the beginning of the month of May, a force from Connecticut, at the head of whom was John Mason, consisting of ninety Englishmen, and about seventy Mohegan Indians under the command of Uncas, their sachem, departed for the country of the Pequods. When they arrived at Saybrook, Mason resolved to send back a part of his men to reinforce the settlements on the Connecticut. He was soon afterwards joined by a great number of Indians, so that when he again set out he had under his command seventy-seven Englishmen and about five hundred Indians.

Mason and his party arrived in sight of the Pequod fort about sunset. When the Narragansetts learned that he meant to attack the enemy in their fortifications, a great many of them retired, and the English commander could hardly persuade the remainder of them to form themselves into a semicircle at some distance from the fort, in order to waylay such of the Pequods as might escape the hands of the English.

It was nearly daybreak when Mason commenced his attack upon the fort. As he drew nigh to it, a dog barked, and an Indian sprang up and exclaimed that the Englishmen were coming. Had it not been for this occurrence, the fort would have been taken by surprise. As it was, they made a vigorous resistance, and Mason was finally obliged to set fire to the fort. The Pequods then attempted to escape, but were nearly all killed. It is said that between five and six hundred of them perished in this engagement. The English loss was two men killed and sixteen wounded.

Sassacus, who was in the other fort, on hearing of this battle, sent a force of three hundred men against Mason. He was soon met by them; but the English gave them such a check that they retired to the top of the hill on which the fort had stood. On perceiving its ruins they were so greatly enraged, that, regardless of consequences, they rushed down the hill and pursued

the English for about six miles. They, however, reached their vessels in safety and returned to Hartford

The three hundred Pequods who had pursued the English returned to Sassacus. On deliberation, it was thought that they could no longer remain in safety in the country. They accordingly dispersed, and Sassacus, with a party of his warriors, after having destroyed the village, proceeded towards the Hudson river.

The governor of Massachusetts, on hearing of the success of Mason, resolved to send an expedition to destroy all the straggling parties which might remain in the neighbourhood. A great battle was fought at a swamp in Fairfield, between this party and a numerous body of Indians whom they met there, in which a great number of the savages were killed and wounded and two hundred taken prisoners.

Sassacus was not, however, destined to be destroyed by the English. A Pequod, whose liberty had been granted him on condition of finding and betraying him, finally succeeded in his search. He met him, but his courage failed and Sassacus escaped.

He now took refuge among the Mohawks. But these Indians, instead of protecting him, put him to death. His head was cut off and sent to Connecticut, and the country now became a province of the English.



CHAPTER V

KING PHILIP'S WAR.



DURING the reign of Massasoit, the friendly relations between the people of New England and the tribes under his influence, remained for the most part undisturbed. The precise time of his decease is not known; but it is supposed by Hubbard that his death took place in 1656.* He was succeeded in the sovereignty of the Wampanoags by his eldest son, Moanam, or Wamsutta, called by the English, Alexander, a name which he received in open court at Plymouth, at the same time that the name of Philip was conferred on his younger brother. This ceremony was performed at the request of the young men, during the life-time of their father, in token of their desire to preserve a good understanding with the English.

The reign of Alexander was marked by no act of hostility towards his white neighbours, nor any misunderstanding, until the circumstances took place which terminated the young sachem's life. The flagrant violation of justice and international law, by the English, involved in this transaction, has doubtless been the occasion of the hasty and unsatisfactory manner in which

* Drake dates it 1660.

it has been passed over by the historians of the time. Enough is known, however, to assign its true character to the act of the Plymouth government.

It appears that the governor and council were informed that Alexander had solicited the Narragansetts to join him in a war against the whites; and *upon good proof thereof*, as they said, ordered him to appear before them. Upon his not instantly complying with their summons, Mr. Winslow was dispatched with an armed force of eight or ten stout men to bring him (July 1662). Meeting him at a wigwam, a few miles from his residence, Sowams,* with a body of his followers, Winslow surprised the party, seized their arms, and summoned the sachem to attend him to Plymouth; at the same time threatening him with a pistol at his throat "that if he stirred or refused to go, he was a dead man." The feelings of grief, indignation and insulted dignity, occasioned by this requital of his white allies for the fifty years of friendship and protection accorded to them by his father, threw the high-spirited chief into a raging fever. In consideration of his sudden illness, he sought permission to return home, and was allowed to go on certain conditions; but *he died upon the way.*

Thus an independent sovereign of a nation which had preserved the strictest amity for more than fifty years with the government of Plymouth, was, upon mere suspicion of hostility, basely surprised and captured within his own territory, and literally insulted to death. No Indian torture ever inflicted in their most cruel triumphs could have equalled the mental sufferings inflicted on the unoffending prince by this act of ingratitude and injustice. Surely, if there were no other, this single outrage were cause enough for the famous war of King Philip. But there were other causes.

Philip, whose Indian name was Metacomet, suc-

* Sowams, Pokanoket or Mount Hope, the principal residence of Massasoit and his successors, situated near the town of Bristol, Rhode Island. From it Philip receives some of his titles, as Philip of Pokanoket, Philip of Mount Hope.

ceeded his unfortunate brother in the sovereignty of his tribe, the Wampanoags. After assuming the government with every demonstration of attachment on the part of his people and the subject sachems, he immediately made his appearance before the court of Plymouth, after the example of his father and brother, in order to renew and confirm the long-existing league with the colonists. An apparent good understanding subsisted between them for several years after this transaction. During this period he appears to have been involved in a dispute with the Mohawks, and to have lost fifty of his warriors in a battle with them, fought in 1669, in which, however, the Wampanoags gained the victory, and thus terminated the war.

The first intimation of misunderstanding between Philip and the colonists, was in April, 1671, when the sachem complaining of certain encroachments upon his planting grounds, on the one hand, and the Plymouth government charging him with meditating hostilities, and actually arming and training his warriors on the other; a formal conference took place between the parties at Taunton, at which Philip admitted all that was alleged against him, promised amendment, and with his council signed new terms of submission. It is evident, from the whole history of this transaction, that Philip had already determined to engage in a war with the colonies; and that his present acknowledgment was a mere artifice to gain time. He doubtless had the same object in view, when, in August 1671, he paid a visit to Boston, and succeeded in completely lulling the suspicions of the Massachusetts government, whom he knew to be more friendly to him than that of Plymouth. This proceeding occasioned a new conference with Philip at Plymouth, at which the authorities of Massachusetts as well as those of the old colony were present; and a new instrument of submission was signed by Philip, containing abundance of promises, which the sachem took care never to fulfil. His purpose of gaining time, however, was fully answered, and nothing

further occurred for three years to rouse the suspicions of the colonists.

During all this time Philip was engaged in maturing the design of that grand enterprise which has given him the character of the most able and politic, as well as the most patriotic of Indian chiefs. This was nothing less than the union of all the New England tribes in a war of extermination against the English colonists. The mutual hostilities of the various tribes rendered this an undertaking of exceeding difficulty; but he so far succeeded in it as to extend his operations from the St. Croix to the Housatonic; and to involve the colonies in the most formidable war with the natives which they have ever had to sustain. As the Indians had no historians of their own, the details of his negotiations with the surrounding aboriginal nations are, of course, unknown. The nature and extent of his operations can only be judged of by their success; and when referred to this standard they certainly give us a high opinion of his talents as a diplomatist and an orator. By his eloquence, courage and address he united all the northern tribes as one man; and if one untoward circumstance and the ungovernable fury of some of the young warriors had not precipitated him into the war twelve months before he had intended to commence, and thus prevented the perfect maturing of his schemes, it is probable that he would nearly have annihilated the New England colonies. As there are so many popular histories of this war, we shall condense its leading incidents in a summary manner.

In 1674, information of Philip's designs was given to the magistrates at Plymouth by John Sassamon, an Indian, who had been educated at Cambridge, and had been a schoolmaster among the Christianized Indians in one of Mr. Eliot's settlements. He had subsequently lived with Philip in the character of confidential secretary, had deserted him and turned informer, and still occasionally visited his tribe in the character of a spy. In January, 1675, Sassamon was found to have been murdered and thrust under the ice in Assawomset pond

in Middleborough. Three Indians, one of whom was a counsellor and particular friend of Philip, were convicted of the murder at Plymouth court, in June of the same year, and executed. Whether the testimony was sufficient to have convicted any one but an Indian, is doubtful. Philip, who had undoubtedly directed the spy to be privately assassinated, was probably apprehensive that he might himself be surprised, taken to Plymouth, tried as an accessary before the fact, and executed in the same summary manner as his counsellor had been. Determined to be beforehand with his enemies, he commenced hostilities at once. His tribe, the Wampanoags, sent their wives and children to the Narragansetts for security, and began to alarm the English at Swanzey. From threatening and insulting the inhabitants, they proceeded to killing their cattle and rifling their houses. Exasperated by these outrages, an Englishman shot one of the Indians; and eight or nine of the English were killed in retaliation. This took place on the 24th of June, 1675, thus commencing the memorable war of King Philip. On the same day the alarm of war was spread through Plymouth colony.

On the 28th, a company of foot, under Captain Henchman, and a company of horse under Captain Prince, with a hundred and ten volunteers, marching from Boston, joined the Plymouth forces at Swanzey, and marched into Philip's country. Some skirmishing took place with the Indians on that and the following day, and they retreated, with a trifling loss, into a neighbouring swamp.

About the same time the Indians attacked the towns of Taunton, Namasket and Dartmouth, burning a considerable part of the houses and killing many of the inhabitants.

On the 15th of July, Captain Hutchinson marched a large force into the country of the Narragansetts, and concluded a treaty with that tribe. Meantime a detachment under Captain Fuller and Lieutenant Church was dispatched to Pocasset, where Philip commanded

in person. Here a skirmish took place, and the Indians, after a loss of fifteen men, were driven into a swamp, where, as they could not be successfully attacked, it was decided to surround and starve them out. But Philip contrived to escape with the greater part of his men, and retreated to the country of the Nipmucks in the interior part of Massachusetts. Captain Hutchinson, with twenty horse, was dispatched to the Nipmucks in hopes of reclaiming them; but they had already commenced hostilities by killing five persons at Mendon. Hutchinson fell into an ambuscade at Brookfield on the 2d of August, and lost sixteen men; the rest fled to Quaboag. The Indians, three hundred in number, pursued the fugitives to the town, to which they set fire, and drove the inhabitants into a fortified house, which they were on the point of taking by storm, when Major Willard arriving with forty-eight dragoons, succeeded in dispersing them and relieving the garrison. Philip joined the Nipmucks on the next day with forty men, and a larger number of women and children.

About this time the Indians on Connecticut river, near Hadley, Hatfield, Deerfield, and also at several places on the Merrimack river, commenced their hostilities. Captains Lothrop and Beers with a small force drove the Hadley Indians from their dwellings, and pursued them to Sugarloaf Hill, where a battle took place, in which ten of the English and twenty-six Indians were slain. Those who escaped joined Philip, and a few days afterward made an attack upon Deerfield, killing one man, and burning several houses. Hadley was also attacked on the same day, while the inhabitants were attending public worship; but the Indians were repulsed by the English, who were led by Goffe, one of the judges of Charles I., and who was at that time concealed in the town.

Shortly after these events the Indians made an attack on Northfield, and killed several of the inhabitants. On the next day, Captain Beers, with thirty-six men, was waylaid and slain, together with twenty of his party. The soldiers and inhabitants of Northfield were brought

off a short time after by Major Treat; and the town was soon after destroyed by the Indians. Captain Lothrop was dispatched from Hadley, by the commanding officer of that place, to Deerfield, in order to bring back provisions and forage. He arrived at Deerfield in safety, with several teams, accompanied by a party of eighty men. Having purchased his provisions, he set out to return to Hadley. About three miles from Deerfield, near Sugarloaf Hill, he was waylaid by a body of about seven hundred Indians, and nearly all his party were destroyed. He was himself killed in the early part of the battle: out of the whole number only seven or eight escaped. The report of the guns was heard at Deerfield, and Captain Moseley hastened forward to the relief of Lothrop. He arrived at the close of the battle, and pursued the Indians from one place to another, till they were finally compelled to seek safety in a distant forest. Soon after the town of Deerfield was abandoned by its inhabitants, and destroyed by the Indians.

In October, the Springfield Indians, who had hitherto been friendly to the English, laid a plot to burn the town of Springfield. They received into their fort about three hundred of Philip's Indians. This plot was, however, disclosed by a friendly Indian, and Major Treat was dispatched with a body of troops to defeat their intentions. He arrived in time to save a quarter part of the town. Thirty-two houses were, however, destroyed. A party, consisting of seven or eight hundred Indians, attacked the town of Hadley on the 19th of October; but they were repulsed by the troops stationed at that place.

At a meeting of the commissioners of three United Colonies, held on the 9th of September, those of the Plymouth colony presented a narrative, relating to the war with the Indians of Mount Hope and Pocasset; and it was then concluded that the war was just, and that a force of one thousand men should be immediately raised; and it was further considered, that as the Naragansetts were accessary to most of the outrages

committed, another party of one thousand men should be raised to proceed against them. The troops were accordingly raised, and Winslow, the governor of Plymouth, was appointed commander-in-chief.

On the 18th of December the forces of the three colonies were united at Petaquamscot, and they marched through a deep snow toward the enemy, who was encamped, at about fifteen miles distance, in a large swamp. The English arrived there at about one o'clock in the afternoon, and immediately marched forward in quest of the enemy's camp. The whole army entered the swamp, and followed the Indians, who had retreated into their fortress. This they attacked, but were at first driven back. They, however, made a second attack, which was successful. The wigwams were set on fire, and a great many women and children perished in the conflagration. The Indians who escaped fled to a cedar swamp, at a small distance. The Indians are supposed to have lost one thousand men in this engagement, while the English lost, in killed and wounded, only two hundred and thirty. The great body of the Narragansett warriors soon after proceeded to the Nipmuck country.

On the 10th of February, 1676, the town of Lancaster was plundered by a party of one thousand five hundred Indians, and about forty persons killed. Medfield and Weymouth were also attacked in this month, by two parties of Indians. Although various companies of Indians were scattered over the country, yet the main body of them lurked in the woods between Brookfield, Marlborough, and Connecticut river. On the 18th of April they attacked the town of Sudbury, and killed twelve persons. Captain Wadsworth, with a party of fifty men, who was dispatched from Boston to relieve the town of Marlborough, fell into an ambuscade of Indians. They fought with desperate valour, but were finally overpowered; and the few who were taken prisoners were destined to torments, in comparison to which death would have been far preferable.

About this time a party of Indians attacked Scituate,



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but they were repulsed by the inhabitants; and in the month of May various parties of them attacked the towns of Bridgewater, Plymouth, and Namasket, at each of which places they burned several houses, besides committing other ravages.

On the 18th of May, a party of one hundred soldiers marched silently in the dead of night to Deerfield, to attack a party of Indians stationed there. They surprised them about break of day, and succeeded in killing about three hundred men, women, and children. The Indians soon after rallied and attacked the party, killing Captain Turner, the commander of the expedition, and thirty-eight of his men.

A party of six or seven hundred Indians appeared before Hatfield on the 30th of May. After burning several houses and barns, they proceeded to attack the houses within the palisades; but on the approach of a party of twenty-five young men, belonging to Hadley, they instantly fled, with the loss of twenty-five men.

In the month of March, Captain Denison of Stonington, succeeded in capturing Nannuttenoo, the chief sachem of the Narragansetts. In the summer months, several volunteer companies made ten or twelve expeditions, and succeeded in killing and capturing two hundred and thirty of the enemy. They drove all the Narragansett Indians, except those of Ninigret, out of their country. This sachem had formerly been an enemy of the colonies, but in this war he refused to join the other sachems, and some of his men bore arms with the Connecticut volunteers.

A standing army of three hundred and fifty men was ordered to be raised by the Assembly of Connecticut. Its commander was Major John Talcot. Early in June, Talcot with two hundred and fifty soldiers, and two hundred Moheagan and Pequod Indians, marched from Norwich into the Wabaquasset country; but he found it to be entirely deserted, as well as the fort and wigwams at Wabaquasset. On the 12th of June, the town of Hadley was attacked by about seven hundred Indians, but Talcot and his soldiers soon appeared, and

drove off the enemy. On the 3d of July, the same troops came up with the main body of the Indians, near a large cedar swamp, and attacked them so suddenly, that a great number were killed on the spot. The others fled into the swamp, which was then surrounded by the English, who succeeded in killing and capturing one hundred and seventy-one more. About the 5th of July, the army retired to Connecticut; and on their return took sixty more of the enemy prisoners.

The Indians, being thus hunted from one place to another, and disheartened by so many disastrous defeats, began to come in by small parties, and surrender to the English. Philip, who had fled to the Mohawks, had so provoked them, that he was compelled to fly; and he was now with a large party of Indians lurking near Mount Hope. On the 2d of August, Captain Church surprised him in his camp, killed one hundred and thirty of his men, and took his wife and son prisoners. Philip himself barely escaped with his life.

The personal adventures of Quanonchet and of Philip in the closing scenes of the war are thus given by a writer of our own times. Some events already noticed are mentioned in the extract.

But the war began to draw to a close; Quanonchet, venturing out with a few followers near the enemy, was pursued and taken. His behaviour under his misfortunes was very noble and affecting; for when repeated offers were made him of life, if he would deliver up Philip, and submit his own people to the English, he proudly rejected them. They condemned him to die, and, by a refinement of cruelty, by the hands of three young Indian chiefs. The heroic man said, "that he liked it well, for he should die before his heart was soft, or he had spoken anything unworthy of himself." Philip was deeply moved by the death of the chieftain, for their friendship was like that of David and Jonathan, strongest in misery and exile. He was not yet left desolate: his beloved wife and only child were with him. They had shared all his sufferings; in his flights, his inroads, his dwellings in the swamps, they

seem never to have left his side. The unfortunate prince now returned to Mount Hope, the scene of his former power and happiness; it was for no purpose of defence that he came, for it was too near the English settlements, but merely to visit it once more. "He finds it," says Mather, "to be Mount Misery, Mount Confusion!" No doubt it was so to his bleeding spirit; for, with all his savage propensities, this prince was susceptible of some of the finest feelings of our nature. He sat down mournfully on the beautiful Mount, on which were now the ruins of his fortress and camp; but he could not remain long here, for the feet of his pursuers were nigh, and he was compelled to seek his distant retreats again:—there was a greater agony in store for him than the sight of his ruined home. Early one morning, his quarters were surprised by the English, most of his followers slain, and his wife and son made captive. The chief fled, broken-hearted, but unsubdued, leaving all he loved on earth in the hands of those who had no mercy. "This was no small torment to him," quaintly says the historian. "Woe to him that spoileth! His peag, or silver belt, the ensign of his princedom, also remained in our hands, so hardly did he escape." The measure of his woes was not yet full. The Indian princess of Pocasset was warmly attached to his cause, and had more than once aided him in his extremity; she had received him beneath her roof, soothed his sorrows, and, what was more, summoned her people to fight for him; and saved him and his people in her canoes the year before. Now, she followed him in his flight, and, as the more devout said, as if by a judgment, could not find a canoe to transport her, and, venturing over the river upon a raft, it broke under her, and she was drowned. Her body was soon after washed on shore, and the English, forgetful of all decency and delicacy to a woman of her rank, though a savage, cut off her head, and placed it on high, which, when the Indians who were her people saw, they gathered round, and gave way to the most sad and touching lamentations. Philip now began, like Saul of

old, when earth was leaving him, to look to the powers beyond it, and to apply to his magicians and sorcerers, who, on consulting their oracles, assured him that no Englishman should ever kill him. This was a vague consolation, yet it seems to have given him, for a while, a confidence in his destiny, and he took his last stand in the middle of a distant and almost inaccessible swamp. It was a fit retreat for a despairing man, being one of those waste and dismal places to which few ever wandered, covered with rank and dense vegetation. The moist soil was almost hidden by the cypress and other trees, that spread their gloomy shades over the treacherous shallows and pools beneath. In the few drier parts, oaks and pines grew, and, between them, brushwood so thick, that the savage could hardly penetrate: on the long rich grass of these parts, wild cattle fed, unassailed by the hand of man, save when they ventured beyond the confines of the swamp. There were wolves, deer, and other animals; and wilder men, it was said, were seen here; it was supposed that the children of some of the Indians had either been lost or left here, and had thus grown up like denizens of this wild. Here the baffled chieftain gathered his little band around him, like a lion baited by the hunters, sullenly seeking his gloomy thickets, only to spring forth more fatally; despair was his only friend; for what other was now left? his love was turned to agony; his wife was in the hand of his enemies; and would they spare her beauty? His only son, the heir of his long line, must bow his head to their yoke; his chief warriors had all fallen, and he could not trust the few who were still with him. Quanonchet, whose fidelity and attachment were stronger than death, was in the land of spirits, chasing the shadowy deer, and solaced with many wives; for Philip, to the last, believed in the religion of his country. In this extremity, an Indian proposed to seek peace with the English;—the prince instantly laid him dead at his feet. This man had a friend, who, disgusted with the deed, soon after fled from the place to Rhode Island,

where the English were recruiting their weary forces, and betrayed the place of his retreat. On this intelligence, a body of forces instantly set out. The night before his death, Philip, "like him in the army of Midian," says the historian, "had been dreaming that he was fallen into the hands of the English; he awoke in great alarm, and told it to his friends, and advised them to fly for their lives, for that he believed it would come to pass." The place was well suited to awake all the terrors of the imagination; to any eye but that of the savage, it was like the "valley of the shadow of death; the cypress and oak trees hung heavy and still, over the accursed soil; the faint gleam of the pools and sluggish lakes on every side, in the starlight, and the howl of the wolf, fitfully, as if it warned that the hour was nigh." "Now, just as he was telling his dream, Captain Church, with his company, fell in upon them." They had been guided by the deserter to the swamp, and, with great difficulty, across some felled trees, into its labyrinths. The battle was fierce and short; Philip fought till he saw almost every follower fall in his defence, then turned and fled; he was pursued by an Englishman and an Indian; and, as if the oracle was doomed to be fulfilled, the musket of the former would not go off; and the latter fired, and shot him through the heart. (*See Engraving on the opposite page.*)

With his death all resistance ceased; his dominions fell into the hands of the colonists, and peace was restored to the settlements.

"The fall of Philip," says an historian,* "was then considered as the extinction of a virulent and implacable enemy. It is now viewed as the fall of a great warrior, a penetrating statesman, and a mighty prince. It then excited universal joy and congratulation as a prelude to the close of a merciless war. It now awakens sober reflections on the instability of empire, the peculiar destiny of the aboriginal race, and the inscrutable decrees of Heaven. The patriotism of the man was

* Ramsay.

then overlooked in the cruelty of the savage; and little allowance was made for the natural jealousy of the sovereign on account of the barbarities of the warrior. Philip, in the progress of the English settlements, foresaw the loss of his territory and the extinction of his tribe; and made one mighty effort to prevent these calamities. He fell; and his fall contributed to the rise of the United States. Joy for this event should be blended with regret for his misfortunes, and respect for his patriotism and talents."

In this war, which lasted only about fourteen months, the colonists of New England lost six hundred, killed; and had thirteen towns totally, and eleven partially, burnt. They also incurred a heavy debt for the expenses occasioned by the contest. Not the least among the disastrous consequences of this war, was the interruption of the pious exertions of that venerable missionary, John Eliot, in converting the Indians to Christianity. In 1674, the number of towns and settlements inhabited by *praying Indians*, as they were then called, who received his ministry,—towns in which industry, good order, and the best instruction, were established, amounted to more than twelve, when the war came on and threw a cloud over all their prospects. In vain Eliot endeavoured to avert hostilities by visiting and exhorting the chief. When he saw there was no longer any chance of peace, he besought his people not to be moved by the example or seductions of either party.

The contagion, however, was too strong; and he at last saw many of them take up arms against their infidel countrymen. The order and harmony of their dwelling-places were for a time utterly blasted; on the hills around Naticke and Pakeunit the watch-fires were blazing; the war-whoops were often heard in the night; at intervals, a solitary musket, and then a signal-cry, came from the neighbouring woods; and yet nearer, the poor Indians at last saw their plantations without the town, burning; for Philip began hostilities by a sudden attack on them, so that their taking up arms was partly in self-defence. This, however, did not prevent

their being suspected by the colonists; and a great number of them were confined on Long Island, cruelly treated, and threatened with death. Many of them fell in the contest; their settlements were all desolated; and when peace was restored, the indefatigable Eliot spent the small remnant of his days in gathering the scattered remains of his people together, and restoring their former habits of industry and tranquillity.*

*Although Philip's war is generally considered to have been virtually terminated by his death, the Indians of Maine, New Hampshire, and the British provinces east of these colonies, collectively called the "eastern Indians," remained hostile for some time longer. On the 6th of September, 400 Indians, who had already entered into a treaty, were treacherously seized at Cocheco (Dover, N. H.), where they had come to trade. Some of them were hanged at Boston, for having been concerned in Philip's war, and 200 were sold into slavery. For his participation in this transaction, Major Waldron paid the forfeit of his life, thirteen years after.

Mogg, a famous eastern chief, signed a treaty with the English, November 6, 1676. An armament, under Major Waldron, met the Indians at Pemaquid, in February, 1677, for the purpose of treating with them; but the negotiation terminated in a skirmish, in which ten of the Indians were killed and several captured. On the 19th of June of the same year, Captain Swett, with 60 English and 200 friendly Indians, fell into an ambush at Black Point, and was killed, with 60 of his party. In April, 1678, Governor Andros concluded a treaty with the eastern Indians, at Casco, which may be regarded as the termination of King Philip's famous war.



CHAPTER VI.

KING WILLIAM'S WAR.



FROM the time of King Philip's war (1688 to 1697), it is to be observed that scarcely any of the numerous contests between the English colonists and the natives were of purely Indian origin; and it is highly probable that by far the greater portion of the bloodshed on our borders, from that period to the present moment, might have been spared, if the Indians had not been stimulated to aggression by our foreign enemies.

It has already been remarked that Spain considered the boundaries of Florida to be extended indefinitely to the north of its present limits, while the French claimed the territory on the Atlantic border, as far south as the fortieth degree of north latitude, and the whole valley of the Mississippi, under the name of New France. As England claimed the Atlantic coast, from Florida (as it is) to Nova Scotia, and always granted patents for the belts of territory between these limits extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, she was engaged in perpetual disputes with these two nations, respecting the boundaries of her American colonies. The French and the Spaniards were both far more successful than the English, in engaging the sympathies and enlisting the services of the Indians, in the

border wars growing out of these disputes; and hence it happened that the colonies, for a long period, were frequently assailed, on every side, by their combined savage and civilized enemies. All these wars were marked with the characteristic cruelties of Indian warfare; and the history of almost every attack might be summed up in the words *surprise*, *massacre*, *conflagration*, and *retreat*.

In the notices which we shall hereafter give of the wars of Carolina and Georgia, it will be perceived that the Spaniards were generally the instigators of the aggressions on that border; on the northern and western frontiers, the colonists had generally to contend with the allied forces of the Indians and French; and even when the French did not appear in arms with their respectable allies, they, and especially their Jesuit priests, were usually the instigators of the attack. This was particularly the case in the war which we are now to notice, commencing in 1688, and terminating with the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, commonly called by the colonists, King William's War. In this contest, the French, who had the good fortune to be commanded by the able and indefatigable Count de Frontignac, the governor of Canada, aimed at nothing less than the expulsion of the English from the northern and middle provinces, if not from the continent; and during its progress, they fitted out powerful armaments more than once for this express purpose. The English, on the other hand, made repeated attempts to dislodge their enemy from Canada, which purpose they finally effected at a later period. As the French invariably availed themselves of the services of their Indian allies, they kept the frontiers in a state of continual alarm, and often penetrated into the heart of the colonies, spreading terror and desolation in every quarter.

The first hostilities of this war occurred on the eastern border of Maine, which was peculiarly exposed to the incursions of the Indians and French; and the cause of quarrel, as usual, was the vexed question of boundaries.

That portion of Maine which lies between Penobscot and Nova Scotia had been given in exchange to the French for the island of St. Christopher. These lands were occupied by the baron de St. Castine, who carried on a considerable trade with the neighbouring Indians; but they were also included in a grant of land made by the King of England to the Duke of York, who, thereupon, in order to strengthen his claim by actual possession, ordered a fort to be built at Pemaquid, and a garrison to be stationed there. Some time after a ship landed some wines at Penobscot, supposing this place to be within the French territory. The duke's agents seized the wine, but it was soon after restored, through the influence of the French ambassador in England; but the boundary question was still undecided.

In the beginning of the year 1688, Sir Edmund Andros, at that time governor general of New England, by appointment of James II., sailed to the disputed territory, in the Rose frigate, and plundered Castine's house of every thing valuable that it contained, leaving only the ornaments of his chapel to console him for the loss of his arms and goods. This base action provoked Castine to excite the Indians to war, pretences for which were not wanting on their part. They complained of a variety of frauds and aggressions; and forthwith commenced hostilities. They began to make reprisals at North Yarmouth, by killing cattle. Justice Blackman ordered sixteen of them to be seized, and confined at Falmouth; but others continued to rob and capture the inhabitants. Andros, who pretended to treat the Indians with mildness, ordered those seized by Blackman to be liberated. But this mildness was disregarded by the Indians, who kept their prisoners, and murdered some of them in their barbarous sports. Andros then changed his measures, and thought to frighten them with an army of seven hundred men, which he led into their country in the month of November. The rigour of the season proved fatal to some of his men; but he never saw an Indian during his whole march. The enemy were quiet during the winter.

(1689) After the revolution which deprived Andros of his office, the gentlemen who assumed the government of Massachusetts endeavoured to conciliate the Indians by embassies and presents; but this policy was counteracted by a more successful system of diplomacy on the part of the French.

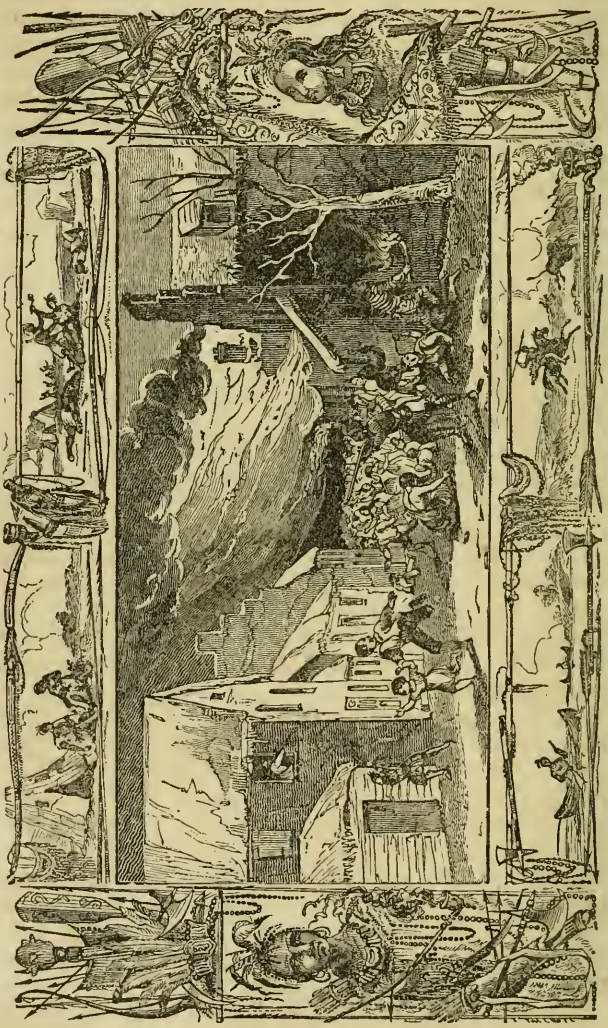
Several tribes now entered into a league of mutual protection and defence; these tribes, in revenge for Major Waldron's having seized four hundred Indians at Dover, thirteen years before, as already related, resolved to attack that place, in which were five garrisoned houses under his command. The inhabitants of this town had, for some time, neglected to keep a watch, imagining themselves to be in perfect security. The Indians, who often passed through the town, took notice of this, and determined to profit by it. The plan which they laid was as follows: two squaws were to go in the evening to each of the garrisoned houses, and demand a night's lodging there. As soon as the garrison should be asleep, they were to unbar the door, and by means of a whistle to apprise the Indians of this, who were then to rush in, and massacre the garrison. The squaws accordingly went to each of the above-mentioned houses, and were received in them. When every thing appeared to be quiet, the squaws got up and silently opened the door, and gave the appointed signal. On hearing this, the Indians rushed in, destroying all they met with, and committing the greatest cruelties. Twenty-three persons, among whom was Major Waldron, were killed in this affair, and twenty-nine taken prisoners. These were, for the most part, taken into Canada, and sold to the French. Some of them were afterwards released, but the greater part remained in captivity till death.

Among the persons taken prisoners were Mrs. Otis and her daughter, who was only about three months old. The French priests took this child under their care, and had her educated in a nunnery. She, however, declined taking the veil, and was married to a Frenchman, by whom she had two children. In 1714,

being then a widow, she left her two children, and returned to New England, where she abjured the Catholic faith. Various methods were afterwards used in order to induce her to return to the Romish church; but they were all without effect. She was afterwards married to Captain Thomas Baker.

In 1690, Count de Frontignac, governor general of Canada, sent out three expeditions against the American colonies. The first of these proceeded against Schenectady, then a small village, situated on the Mohawk river. This party, after wandering for twenty-two days through deserts rendered trackless by snow, approached the village of Schenectady in so exhausted a condition, that they had determined to surrender themselves to the inhabitants as prisoners of war. But, arriving at a late hour on an inclement night, and hearing from the messengers they had sent forward that the inhabitants were all in bed, without even the precaution of a public watch, they exchanged their intention of imploring mercy to themselves, for a plan of nocturnal attack and massacre of the defenceless people, to whose charity their own countrymen had once been so highly indebted.* This detestable requital of good with evil was executed with a barbarity which, of itself, must be acknowledged to form one of the most revolting and terrific pictures that has ever been exhibited of human cruelty and ferocity. Dividing themselves into a number of parties, they set fire to the village in various places, and attacked the inhabitants with fatal advantage when, alarmed by the conflagration, they endeavoured to escape from their burning houses. The exhausted strength of the Frenchmen appeared to revive with the work of destruction, and to gather energy from the animated horror of the scene. Not only were all the male inhabitants they could reach put to death, but women were murdered, and their infants dashed on the walls of the houses. But either the delay caused by this elaborate cruelty, or the more merciful haste of the flames to announce

* For the account of Corlear's kindness to the French, see Chapter VIII.



the calamity to those who might still fly from the assassins, enabled many of the inhabitants to escape. The efforts of the assailants were also somewhat impeded by a sagacious discrimination which they thought it expedient to exercise. Though unmindful of benefits, they were not regardless of policy; and of a number of Mohawk Indians who were in the village, not one sustained an injury. Sixty persons perished in the massacre, and twenty-seven were taken prisoners. Of the fugitives who escaped half naked, and made their way through a storm of snow to Albany, twenty-five lost their limbs from the intensity of the frost. The French, having totally destroyed Schenectady, retired loaded with plunder from a place where, we think, it must be acknowledged that even the accustomed atrocities of Indian warfare had been outdone. (*See Engraving on the opposite page.*)

Count Frontignac's second expedition marched against the settlement of Salmon Falls. This party, consisting of Indians and French to the number of fifty-two, fell on the village at day-break in three different places. The inhabitants made a bold resistance, but were finally overpowered. On the retreat of this party from the village, they were attacked by a force of about one hundred and fifty men; but escaped without much loss. The third of the three parties attacked and destroyed the settlement at Casco.

In the month of May, an assault was made on Fox Point in Newington, in which several persons were killed, and a few taken prisoners. On the 6th of July, two companies under the command of Captains Floyd and Wiswal, came up with a party of Indians near Wheelright's Pond, and a bloody engagement took place, in which Wiswal and fourteen others were killed, and several wounded. The battle continued for several hours, and finally both parties retreated at the same time. The Indians proceeded westward and committed many and serious depredations.

The inhabitants of New England having suffered so much from the French in Canada, resolved to form an

expedition to reduce it to the crown of England. Accordingly an armament was equipped and placed under the command of Sir William Phipps. This expedition was, however, retarded by some unforeseen events, so that it did not reach Quebec, the place of its destination, till the 5th of October, 1690, when it was time to return. They accordingly abandoned the enterprise and returned home.

After the destruction of Casco, in 1690, all the eastern settlements were abandoned, and the people retired to the fort at Wells, in the southern part of Maine. On the 25th of January, 1692, the town of York, adjoining Wells, was surprised by the French and Indians, who killed seventy-five of the inhabitants, captured as many more, and burnt the town. On the 10th of June, an army of French and Indians made a furious attack on the garrison at Wells, commanded by Convers, who made a gallant defence, and drove the enemy off.

Sir William Phipps having received instructions from the sovereigns, William and Mary, to build a fort at Pemaquid, was incited to the prompt execution of his order by the recent aggressions of the Indians in that part of the province. He embarked at Boston with four hundred and fifty men, in August, 1690, and on arriving at Pemaquid proceeded to the erection of a fortress of greater strength and dimensions than any hitherto erected in British America. It was built of stone and furnished with eighteen guns, six of which were eighteen pounders. It was garrisoned with sixty men, and served the purpose of keeping possession of Pemaquid, and was probably intended by the British to prevent the French from claiming Acadie as a derelict country. As a means of annoyance to the Indians it was not worth the cost, which was very considerable. The characteristic remark of the famous Colonel Church, who accompanied Phipps on his expedition, probably expresses the estimation in which it was held by most of the Massachusetts people. When the governor invited Church to go on shore and give his judgment

about erecting a fort, he replied, "that his genius did not incline that way, for he never had any value for them, being only nests for destructions."

In 1693, Major Convers, with five hundred men, marched into the eastern part of Maine, without encountering any Indians. On his return he built a fort on Saco river. The Indians soon after sued for peace, and a treaty was signed at Pemaquid, by which they renounced the French interest, promised to maintain perpetual peace, restore all captives, and allow a free trade. As a security for their fidelity they delivered hostages.

This treaty was soon violated. The Indians would probably have observed its conditions, if they had not been influenced by the French, and particularly by the priests. The Sieur de Villiere, who had distinguished himself in the defence of Quebec, when Sir William Phipps was before it, and had contracted a strong antipathy to the New Englanders, being now in command at Penobscot, he, with M. Thury the missionary, diverted Madokawando and the other sachems from complying with their engagements; so that pretences were found for detaining the English captives who were more in number, and of more consequence than the Indian hostages. Influenced by the same pernicious counsels, they sought for a defenceless point of attack, and pitched upon the settlement of Oyster river, within the town of Dover, N. H.; and the design of surprising this place was publicly talked of in Quebec, two months before it was attacked. There were twelve garrisoned houses in the place; but the people were off their guard, and wholly unprepared for an assault, when M. de Villiere with a body of two hundred and fifty Indians, collected from the tribes of St. John, Penobscot and Norridgwog, attended by a French priest, marched upon the devoted town. The enemy approached undiscovered, and halted near the falls on the 17th of June, 1694. Here they formed two divisions, one of which was to go on each side of the river, and plant themselves in ambush in small par-

ties near every house, so as to be ready for the attack at sunrise, the first gun to be the signal. John Dean, whose house stood by the saw-mill near the falls, leaving his house at daybreak, was shot as he came out of the door. This disconcerted their plan; several parties who had some distance to go, had not then arrived at their stations; the people were alarmed, some escaped, and others prepared for defence. The signal, however, being given, the attack instantly commenced in all parts where the enemy was ready.

Of the twelve garrisoned houses, five were destroyed; most of their inhabitants were murdered in cold blood without resistance; others surrendered on promise of safety, and were then treacherously butchered; the rest escaped in boats on the river, or by secreting themselves in the bushes.

The other seven garrisons were bravely and successfully defended. One of these near the river, surrounded by a palisade, was preserved in a singular manner. Thomas Bickford, the owner, being alarmed before the enemy reached his house, sent off his family in a boat, and then shutting his gate, betook himself alone to the defence of his fortress. Despising alike the threats and promises by which the Indians would have persuaded him to surrender, he kept up a constant fire at them, changing his dress as often as he could, showing himself with a different hat, cap or coat, and sometimes without either, and giving directions aloud as if he had a number of men with him. Finding their attempt vain, the enemy withdrew, leaving him sole master of the house which he had defended with such admirable address.

When the enemy began to apprehend the approach of reinforcements from the surrounding settlements, they hastily retreated through the woods after their usual manner, having killed and captured between ninety and a hundred persons, and burned twenty houses, five of which were garrisons.

About forty of the enemy under Foxus, a Norridgwog chief, resolving on farther mischief, went west-

ward, and did execution as far as Groton. A smaller party crossed the Piscataqua and killed several persons on Mrs. Cutts's farm, herself among the number. The scalps taken in this expedition were carried to Canada by Madokawando, and presented to Count Frontignac, from whom he received the reward of his treacherous adventure.

After this affair, no considerable attack was made on the north-western border, until June 26th, 1696, when a surprise took place on Portsmouth plain, about two miles from the town. Five houses were attacked at once; fourteen persons were killed and four captured. The enemy was pursued, and the captives and plunder recovered; but the Indians themselves escaped.

On the 26th of July, the people of Dover were waylaid as they were returning from public worship: three were killed, three wounded, and three carried to Penobscot prisoners.

The plan of the French ministers for this year, 1696, had been to expel the English from their posts at Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, and Pemaquid. The expedition against Pemaquid was committed by the king to Iberville and Bonaventure, who anchored on the 7th of August, at Pentagroet, where their force was augmented by the junction of the Baron de Castine, with two hundred Indians, who accompanied the French fleet in their canoes. On the 14th, the fort was invested. To the summons to surrender, Chubb, the commander of the fort, replied, "that if the sea were covered with French vessels, and the land with Indians, yet he would not give up the fort." After a few shots from the Indians, which were returned without effect from the fort, batteries were raised, and a bombardment commenced. Castine now found means to convey a letter into the fort, intimating that if the besieged waited till an assault took place, they would then be at the mercy of the Indians, and must expect no quarter. Upon this, the garrison, consisting of but eighty men, required their valorous commander to capitulate, which he did on highly honourable and

advantageous terms. The famous fort of Pemaquid, which had cost the Massachusetts colony an immense sum of money, was now demolished by the captors. The French then devastated a great part of Nova Scotia, but deferred their operations against the forts at Hudson's Bay and Newfoundland until the next year.

In June, 1697, an ineffectual attempt was made by the Indians to surprise Exeter, N. H., and on the 4th of July, Major Frost of Kittery, who had signalized himself on many occasions against the Indians, was waylaid and killed by them.

Very extensive preparations were made by the French for the campaign of 1697; a large armament and fleet from France were to co-operate with the combined land forces of Indians and French from Canada, and the whole country from Newfoundland to New York was to be conquered and devastated. But the fleet sailed too late in the season, and did not arrive at Placentia, the rendezvous, until the 24th of July, when a council of war, called to decide on the question, unanimously decided not to make the proposed descent on Boston.

The peace of Ryswick, which had been signed on the 20th of September, was proclaimed at Boston on the 10th of December, and the English colonies once more enjoyed repose, after a long and bloody war. By the seventh article of this treaty, it was agreed to make mutual restitution of all the countries, forts, and colonies, taken by each party during the war.

After the treaty of Ryswick, Count Frontignac informed the Indians that he could no longer support them in their wars against the English, and advised them to make a treaty with their late opponents. In conformity with this advice, they concluded a treaty on the 7th of January, 1699, in which they ratified their former engagements; acknowledged subjection to the crown of England; and promised future peace and good behaviour. It was signed by Moxus, and many other sagamores, captains, and principal men of the

Indians belonging to the rivers of the Kennebeck, Ammeriscoggin, and Saco, and the parts adjacent.

Our notices of this war, it will be observed, are confined chiefly to the operations in New England, which, from its contiguity to Canada and Nova Scotia, was necessarily its principal theatre. The contests between the French and the Five Nations who were justly considered the barrier between New York and the French colony, will be noticed in another chapter.

CHAPTER VII.

WARS OF THE FIVE NATIONS.

(TO THE CLOSE OF THE LAST FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.)



NONE among all the Indian nations has acquired so much celebrity as that confederacy which, from its geographical position, formed the barrier between the middle colonies of Great Britain and the French possessions on their north-western frontier, generally known by the denomination of the *Five Nations of Canada.*

This federal association is said to ha e derived its origin from the most remote antiquity; and, as the name imports, it comprehended five Indian nations, of which the Mohawks have obtained the most lasting name, and which were united, on terms of the strictest equality, in a perpetual alliance, for conquest and mutual defence. The members of this confederation

reckoned themselves superior to all the rest of mankind, and the distinctive appellation which they adopted was expressive of this opinion. But the principles of their confederacy display far more policy and refinement than we might expect from the arrogance of their barbarous name. They had embraced the Roman maxim, of increasing their strength by incorporating the people of other nations with themselves. After every conquest of an enemy, when they had indulged their revenge by some cruel executions, they exercised their usual policy in the adoption of the remaining captives; and frequently with so much advantage, that some of their most distinguished sachems and captains were derived from defeated and adopted foes. Each nation had its own separate republican constitution, in which rank and office were claimed only by age, procured only by merit, and enjoyed by the tenure of public esteem; and each was divided into three tribes, bearing respectively for their ensigns, and distinguished by the names of, the Tortoise, the Bear, and the Wolf. In no community was age graced with more respect, or youth endowed with greater beauty. Such was the efficacy of their mode of life in developing the fine proportions of which the human frame is susceptible, that, when the statue of the Apollo Belvidere was beheld, for the first time, by the American Apelles, Benjamin West, he started at the unexpected recognition, and exclaimed, "How like it is to a young Mohawk warrior!" The people of the several nations, and especially the Mohawks, were distinguished by the usual Indian qualities of attachment to liberty, fortitude in the endurance of pain; preference of craft and stratagem to undisguised operation in war; and by a more than usual degree of perseverance, resolution, and active intrepidity. Almost all the tribes around this people, and even many at a great distance, who were not included in their confederacy, acknowledged a subjection to it, paid a tribute, which two aged sachems were annually deputed to collect; and were restrained from making war or peace without the consent of the Five Nations. It was the policy

of all the chiefs to affect superior poverty, and to distribute among the people the whole of their own share of tribute and plunder. All matters of common concernment were transacted in general meetings of the sachems of each nation: and the influence of time, aided by a long course of judicious policy and victorious enterprise, had completely succeeded in causing the federal character and sentiments to prevail over the peculiarities of their subordinate national associations. In the year 1677, the confederacy possessed two thousand one hundred and fifty fighting men. When the *Tuscarora* tribe was vanquished in Carolina, at a subsequent period, and expelled from its territory by the colonists of that province, the fugitives proposed, and were permitted, to revive their broken estate by engrafting it on this powerful confederacy; and as, (in consequence of a supposition, derived from similarity of language, of their original derivation from the same stock to which they now returned,) they were associated as a new member of the general union, instead of being intermingled with any particular portion of it; the confederacy soon after obtained the name of the Six Nations. Both the French and the English writers, who have treated of the character or affairs of this people, have concurred in describing them as at once the most judicious and politic of the native powers, and the most fierce and formidable of the native inhabitants of America. There was only wanting to their fame, that literary celebration which they obtained too soon from the neighbourhood of a race of civilized men, who were destined to eclipse, and finally extinguish, their greatness: and particularly from the pen of a highly accomplished writer, Cadwallader Colden, one of the governors of New York, they have received the same historic service which his own barbarian ancestors derived from the writings of Cæsar and Tacitus.

When the French settled in Canada, in the beginning of this century, they found the Five Nations engaged in a bloody war with the powerful tribe of *Adirondacks;* in which, after having been themselves so severely press-

ed, that they were driven from their possessions round Montreal, and forced to seek an asylum on the south-east coast of Lake Ontario, the Five Nations had latterly succeeded in gaining a decided advantage, and had in turn constrained their enemies to abandon their lands situated above the *Three Rivers*, and fly for safety behind the strait where Quebec was built. The tide of success, however, was suddenly turned by the arrival of Champlain, who conducted the French colony, and who naturally joined the Adirondacks, because he had settled on their lands. The conduct, the bravery, and especially the fire-arms, of these new allies of the enemy, proved an overmatch for the skill and intrepidity of the Five Nations, who were defeated in several battles, and reduced to the greatest distress. It was at this critical juncture that the first Dutch ship arrived in Hudson's river, with the colonists who established themselves at Albany. The Five Nations, easily procuring from these neighbours a supply of that species of arms to which alone their enemies had been indebted for their superiority, revived the war with such impetuosity and success, that the nation of the Adirondacks was completely annihilated; and the French too late discovered, that they had espoused the fortunes of the weaker people. Hence originated the mutual dread and enmity that so long subsisted between the French and the confederated Indians, and entailed so many calamities upon both. The French, less accustomed to the climate, and less acquainted with the country, than their savage enemies, attempted vainly to imitate their rapid and secret expeditions. A party dispatched in the winter of 1665, by Courcelles, the governor of Canada, to attack the Five Nations, lost their way among wastes of snow, and after enduring the greatest misery, arrived, without knowing where they were, at the village of Schenectady, near Albany, which a Dutchman of consideration, named Corlear, had recently founded. The French, exhausted and stupified with cold and hunger, resembled rather an army of beggars than of hostile invaders, and would have fallen an easy prey to a body of Indians

who were in the village, if Corlear, touched with compassion at their miserable appearance, had not employed both influence and artifice with the Indians, to persuade them to spare their unfortunate enemies, and depart to defend their own people against a more formidable attack in a different quarter, which he led them to expect. When the Indians were gone, Corlear and his townsmen brought refreshments to the famishing Frenchmen, and supplied them with provisions and other necessaries to carry them home: having taught them by a sensible lesson, that it is the mutual duty of men to mitigate by kindness and charity, instead of aggravating by ambition and ferocity, the ills that arise from the rigours of nature, and the frailty of humanity. The French governor expressed much gratitude for Corlear's kindness, and the Indians never resented his benevolent stratagem: but their mutual warfare continued unabated. At length, after a long period of severe but indecisive hostilities, both parties, wearied of war, but not exhausted of animosity, agreed to a general peace, which was concluded in the year 1667, and had subsisted ever since without any considerable interruption, at the period when Colonel Dongan was made governor of New York.

Of the relation that subsisted between the Dutch and the Five Nations, only confused and uncertain accounts have been preserved. The writers who have asserted that the Dutch were continually in close alliance and friendship with the Indians, seem to have derived their statements entirely from their own ideas of what was probable, and to have mistaken for an expression of particular friendship, the indiscriminate readiness of the Dutch to traffic with friend or foe. It is certain that at any one time they were engaged in a bloody war with the Indians; though with what particular tribes, there are no means of ascertaining; and that during Stuyvesant's administration they enjoyed a peace with them, of which the benefit was transmitted to the English. When Colonel Nichols assumed the government of New York, he entered into a friendly treaty with

the Five Nations; which, however, till the arrival of Dongan, seems to have been productive of no farther connexion than an extensive commercial intercourse, in which the Indians supplied the English with peltry in return for arms and ammunition, of the use of which, as long as they were not employed against themselves, the venders were entirely, and, as it proved, unfortunately, regardless. The Indians adhered to the treaty with strict fidelity; but always showed a scrupulous niceness in exacting the demonstrations of respect due to an independent people; and in particular when any of their forces had occasion to pass near the English forts, they expected to be saluted with military honours. In the meantime the French Canadians were not remiss in availing themselves of their deliverance from the hostilities of these formidable Indians. They advanced their settlements along the river St. Lawrence, and in the year 1672 built Fort Frontignac on its north-west bank, where it rushes from the vast parent waters of Ontario. With a policy proportioned to the vigour of their advances, they filled the Indian settlements with their missionaries, who labouring with great activity and success, multiplied converts to their doctrines, and allies to their countrymen. The praying Indians, as the French termed their converts, were either neutral, or, more frequently, their auxiliaries in war. The Jesuits preached not to their Indian auditors the doctrines that most deeply wound the pride of human nature, nor a lofty morality which the conduct of the bulk of its nominal professors practically denies and disgraces. They required of their converts but a superficial change; an embracement of the external forms of Christianity; and they entertained their senses, and impressed their imaginations, by a ceremonial at once picturesque and mysterious. Yet as, from the weakness of man, an admixture of error is inseparable from the best system of doctrine, so, from the goodness of God, a ray of truth is found to pervade even the slightest. The instructions of the Jesuits, from which the lineaments of Christianity were not wholly obliterated,

may have contributed, in some instances, to form the divine image in the minds of the Indians; and the good seed, unchoked by the tares, may, in some places, have sprung up to everlasting life. The moral and domestic precepts contained in the Scriptures were communicated, in some instances, with a happy effect: and various congregations of Indian converts were persuaded by the Jesuits to build villages in Canada in the same style as the French colonists, to adopt European husbandry, and to renounce spirituous liquors. The visible separation of the Catholic priests from the family of mankind, by a renunciation of conjugal and parental ties, gave no small sacredness to their character, and a strong prevailing power to their addresses. In the discharge of what they conceived their duty, their courage and perseverance were equalled only by their address and activity. They had already compassed sea and land to make proselytes, and the threats of death and torture could not deter them from executing their commission. Many of them, though commanded to depart, continued to remain among tribes that were at war with their countrymen; and some of them, on the principle of becoming all things to all men, embraced Indian habits of living. One of these last, established himself so firmly in the affections of a certain tribe of the Five Nations, that although they continued faithful to the national enmity against the French, they adopted him as a brother, and elected him a sachem. With such industry, resolution, and insinuation, did the French Jesuits exert themselves to recommend their faith and their country to the affections of the Indians. The French laity, too, and especially their civil and military officers and soldiery, succeeded better than the generality of the English, in recommending themselves to the good graces of the savages. French vanity was productive of more politeness and accommodation than English pride; and even the displeasure that the French sometimes excited by commission of injuries, was less intolerable than the provocation that the Eng-

lish too frequently inspired by a display of insolence The stubborn disposition of the English was best fitted to contend with the obstructions of nature; the pliancy and vivacity of the French, to prevail over the jealousy of the natives. There were as yet no Protestant missions in this quarter of America, which, in the following century, some New England clergymen, aided by a religious society in Scotland, were destined to illustrate by noble and successful exertions of missionary labour.

Colonel Dongan, who was not, like his predecessors, encumbered with a monopoly of all the functions of government, nor absorbed in struggles with popular discontent, had leisure for a wider survey of the state of his countrymen's relations with the Indians, and very soon discovered that the peace which was so advantageous to the French Canadian colonists, by enabling them to extend their fortifications and their commerce over a vast extent of country, was productive of severe inconvenience to some of the colonies of Britain, and threated serious danger to them all. The Five Nations, inflamed by their passion for war, and finding a pretext for its gratification in the recollection of numerous insults that had been offered to them in the season of their adversity, had turned their arms southward, and conquered the country from the Mississippi to the borders of Carolina; exterminating numerous tribes and nations in their destructive progress. Many of the Indian allies of Virginia and Maryland sustained their attacks; and these colonies themselves were frequently involved in hostilities, in defence both of their allies, and in protecting themselves against allies incensed by discovering that their invaders derived their means of annoying them from the English at New York. But, in 1684, Colonel Dongan, in conjunction with Lord Effingham, the governor of Virginia, concluded with the Five Nations a definitive treaty of peace, embracing all the English settlements, and all tribes in alliance with them. Hatchets, proportioned to the numbers of the English colonies, were solemnly buried in the ground: and the

arms of the Duke of York, as the acknowledged supreme head of the English and Indian confederacy, were suspended along the frontiers of the territories of the Five Nations. This treaty was long inviolably adhered to; and the fidelity of its observance was powerfully aided by a renewal of hostilities between the Five Nations and their ancient enemies, the French. It was at this time that the merchants of New York first adventured on the great lakes to the westward, hoping to participate in the trade which the French were carrying on with much profit in that quarter, and which they endeavoured to guard from invasion by prejudicing the Indians against the English, and by every art that seemed likely to obstruct the advances of their rivals. Dongan perceiving the disadvantages to which his countrymen were exposed, solicited the English ministry to take measures for preventing the French from navigating the lakes which belonged to the Five Nations, and, consequently, as he apprehended, to England. But he was informed that it was preposterous to ask, or expect, that France would command her subjects to desist from an advantageous commerce for the benefit of their rivals: and he was directed, rather by acts of kindness and courtesy, to encourage the Indians to retain their adherence to England, and to make it the interest of all the tribes to trade with the English in preference to the French; observing withal such prudence as might prevent offence to European neighbours. So far were these views from being realized, that from this time there commenced a series of disputes between the two nations, which for the greater part of a century engaged them in continual wars and hostile intrigues that threatened the destruction of their colonial settlements, cost the lives of many of the European colonists, and wasted the blood, and prolonged the barbarism of those unfortunate Indians who were involved in the vortex of their hostility.

On the death of Charles the Second, the Duke of York ascended his brother's throne, and the province of which he had been proprietary devolved, with all its

dependencies, on the crown. The people of New York received, with improvident exultation, the accounts of their proprietary's advancement to royalty, and proclaimed him as their sovereign with the liveliest demonstrations of attachment and respect. They had been for some time past soliciting with much eagerness a formal grant of the constitution that was now established among them; and the duke had not only promised to gratify them in this particular, but had actually proceeded so far as to sign a patent in conformity with their wishes, which, at his accession to the throne, required only some trivial solemnity to render it complete and irrevocable. But James, though he could not pretend to forget, was not ashamed to violate, as King of England, the promise which he had made when Duke of York; and a calm and unblushing refusal was now returned to the renewed solicitations of all the incorporated bodies, and the great bulk of the inhabitants of the province. Determined to establish the same arbitrary system in New York which he designed for New England, so far from conferring new immunities, he withdrew what had been formerly conceded. In the second year of his reign he invested Dongan with a new commission, empowering him, with consent of a council, to enact the laws, and impose the taxes; and commanding him to suffer *no printing-press to exist.* Though he now sent Andros to New England, he paused a while before he ventured to restore the authority of that obnoxious governor in New York. But the people beheld in his appointment to govern the colonies in their neighbourhood, an additional indication of their prince's character and their own danger, and with impatient discontent endured a yoke which they were unable to break, and which they were prevented from exhibiting to public odium, and English sympathy, through the medium of the press.

Dongan, having been a soldier all his life, seems to have been fitted rather by habit to regard with indifference, than by disposition to enforce with rigour, a system of arbitrary power; and, accordingly, the remainder

of his administration, though less favourable to his popularity, was not discreditable to his character, which continued to evince the same moderation, and the same regard to the public weal, as before. Though a Roman Catholic, he had beheld with alarm, and resisted with energy, the intrusion of the French priests into the settlements of the Five Nations; and even when his bigoted master was persuaded by the court of France to command him to desist from thus obstructing the progress of popish conversion, he continued nevertheless to warn his Indian allies, that the admission of the Jesuits among them would prove fatal to their own interests, and to their friendship with the English. He still insisted that the French should not treat with the Indians in alliance with his colony, without his privity and intervention: but the French court again employed their interest with his master; and he accordingly received orders to depart from this pretension. The Five Nations, however, seemed more likely to need the assistance of his forces than the suggestions of his policy. Their untutored sagacity had long perceived what the ministers of the court of England were not skilful enough to discern, that the extensive projects of France both threatened themselves with subjugation, and involved, to the manifest disadvantage of the English colonies, a diminution of their trade, and a removal of the powerful barrier that still separated them from the rival settlement of Canada. The treaty that excluded the Five Nations from hostile expeditions against the more distant tribes allied to the other English colonies, gave them leisure to attend with less distraction to their nearer interests: and finding themselves inconvenienced by the supplies which their numerous enemies derived from the French, they had of late chosen to consider this as a hostile act which they were entitled to resent and obstruct, and had constantly attacked the Canadian traders who carried military stores to any tribe with whom they were at war. The French, under the conduct of two successive governors, De la Barre and Nouville, had vainly endeavoured, partly by treaty, and partly by force, to

repress proceedings so injurious to their commerce, their reputation, and their political views; when Dongan, perceiving that a war would probably ensue between the rivals and the allies of his countrymen, prevailed, by the most urgent entreaties, on the English court to invest him with authority to assist the Five Nations in the contest that menaced them. But the French ministers gaining information of these instructions, hastened to counteract them by a repetition of artifices which again proved successful. They had already more than once, by their hypocrisy and cunning, succeeded in outwitting the sincere bigotry of the English King; and they had now the address to conclude with him a *treaty of neutrality for America*, by which it was stipulated that neither party should give assistance to Indian tribes in their wars with the other. Armed with so many advantages, the French authorities in Canada resumed, with increased vigour, their endeavours to chastise by force, or debauch by intrigue, the Indian tribes who had preferred the English alliance to theirs; while Dongan was compelled to sacrifice the honour of his country to the mistaken politics of his master, and to abandon her allies to the hostility, and her barrier to the violation, of an insidious and enterprising rival. He could not, however, divest himself of the interest he felt in the fortunes of the Five Nations, and seized every opportunity of imparting to them advice no less prudent than humane, for the conduct of their enterprises, and the treatment of their prisoners. But his inability to fulfil former engagements, and afford them further aid, greatly weakened the efficacy of his councils. Though the remonstrances of Dongan enabled the ministers of James to discover, in the following year, that the treaty of neutrality for America was prejudicial to the interests of England, it was impossible to prevent the king from renewing, in the close of the same year, this impolitic arrangement with France.

But the king had no intention of relinquishing his empire in America: and his mind, though strongly tinctured with bigotry, was not unsusceptible of politic

views; though he seems rarely to have mingled these considerations together. As his bigotry had prompted him to give up the Indians to the French, his policy now suggested the measure of uniting all his northern colonies in one government for their more effectual defence. It must be confessed, indeed, that he seems to have been at least as strongly prompted to this design by the desire of facilitating his own arbitrary government in the colonies, as by concern for their safety, or for the integrity of his dominions. As this scheme included New York, and as he thought the people of this province now sufficiently prepared to abide the extremity of his will, he indulged the more readily the displeasure that Dongan had given him by obstructing the French Jesuits, which had been a subject of continual complaint from the court of France. The commission of this meritorious officer was accordingly superseded by a royal command to deliver up his charge to Sir Edmund Andros: and New York not only reverted to the dominion of its ancient tyrant, but beheld its existence as a separate province completely merged in its annexation to the government of New England. Andros remained at Boston as the metropolis of his jurisdiction; committing the administration of New York to Nicholson, his lieutenant-governor: and though by the vigour of his remonstrances, and his reputation for ability, he compelled the French to suspend some encroachments which they were making or threatening to make on the English territories, he could lend no assistance to the Five Nations in the hostilities that were now carried on between them and the French with a mutual fury and ferocity that seemed to obliterate the distinction between civilized and savage men. The people of New York, deprived of their liberties, and mortified by their annexation to New England, felt themselves additionally ill used by the policy which compelled them to stand aloof and behold the fate of the allies to whom they had promised protection, together with their own most important interests, suspended on the issue of a contest in which they were not

suffered to take a share; while all the while their countrymen in the eastern part of New England were harassed by a dangerous Indian war which was believed on strong reasons to have been excited by the intrigues of the French. But though deserted by the English, the Five Nations maintained the struggle with an energy that promised the preservation of their independence, and finally with a success that excited hopes even of the subjugation of their civilized adversaries. Undertaking an expedition with twelve hundred of their warriors against Montreal, they conducted their march with such rapidity and secresy as to surprise the French in almost unguarded security. The suddenness and fury of their attack proved irresistible. They burned the town, sacked the plantations, put a thousand of the French to the sword, and carried away a number of prisoners whom they burned alive; returning to their friends with the loss of only three of their own number. It was now that the disadvantage arising from the neutrality of the English was most sensibly felt, both in the cruelties with which the Indians stained the triumphs they obtained, and which the influence of a humane ally might have contributed to moderate; and also in the inability of the savages to improve their victories into lasting conquest. They strained every nerve indeed to follow up their advantage, and shortly after their attack on Montreal possessed themselves of the fort at Lake Ontario, which the garrison in a panic abandoned to them; and being now reinforced by the desertion of numerous Indian allies of the French, they reduced every station that this people possessed in Canada to a state of the utmost terror and distress. Nothing could have saved the French from utter destruction but the ignorance which disabled the Indians from attacking fortified places: and it was evident to all that a single vigorous act of interposition by the English colonists would have sufficed to terminate for ever the rivalry of France and England in this quarter of the world.

In the early part of the contest which we have

already noticed under the name of King William's War, the Five Nations, somewhat offended by the recent impolitic neutrality of the English, took no part on either side. In 1691, however, when Colonel Sloughter was governor of New York, they were induced to a change of policy.

The most respectable act of Sloughter's short administration was a conference which he held with the chiefs of the Five Nations, who admitted that they had so far relaxed their hostile purposes against the French, as to entertain propositions for a lasting peace with them; but now willingly consented to *brighten*, as they termed it, *their ancient belt of friendship*, and to renew a league, offensive and defensive, with the English. "We remember," they declared, "the deceit and treachery of the French: the belt they have sent us is poison; we spew it out of our mouths; and are resolved to make war with them as long as we live." On his return from this conference, a sudden death put a period to Sloughter's administration.

To animate the Indians in the purposes they had now professed, and to sharpen, by exercise, their hostility against the French, Major Schuyler, who had acquired extraordinary influence with the Five Nations by his courage, good sense, and friendly attention to their interests, undertook, in the close of this year, an expedition against Montreal, at the head of a considerable body of colonial and Indian forces. Though the invaders were finally compelled to retreat, the French sustained great loss in several encounters, and the spirit and animosity of the Five Nations were whetted to such a pitch, that even when their allies retired, they continued during the winter to wage incessant and harassing hostilities with the French. Count Frontignac, whose sprightly manners and energetic character supported the spirits of his countrymen amidst every reverse, was at length so provoked with what he deemed the ingratitude of the Five Nations for his kindness to them at Schenectady, that, besides encou raging his own Indian allies to burn their prisoners

alive, he at length condemned to a death still more dreadful, two Mohawk warriors who had fallen into his hands. In vain the French priests remonstrated against this sentence, and urged him not to bring so foul a stain on the Christian name: the count declared that every consideration must yield to the safety and defence of his people, and that the Indians must not be encouraged to believe that they might practise the extreme of cruelty on the French without the hazard of having it retorted on themselves. If he had been merely actuated by politic considerations, without being stimulated by revenge, he might have plainly perceived, from the conduct of all the Indian tribes in their wars with each other, that the fear of retort had no efficacy whatever to restrain them from their barbarous practices, which he now undertook to sanction as far as his example was capable of doing. The priests, finding that their humane intercession was ineffectual, repaired to the prisoners, and laboured to persuade them to embrace the Christian name, as a preparation for the dreadful fate which they were about to receive from Christian hands; but their instructions were rejected with scorn and derision, and they found the prisoners determined to dignify, by Indian sentiments and demeanour, the Indian death which they had been condemned to undergo. Shortly before the execution, some Frenchman, less inhuman than his governor, threw a knife into the prison, and one of the Mohawks immediately dispatched himself with it: the other, expressing contempt at his companion's mean evasion from glory, walked to the stake, singing in his death-chant, that he was a Mohawk warrior, that all the power of man could not extort the least expression of suffering from his lips, and that it was ample consolation to him to reflect that he had made many Frenchmen suffer the same pangs that he must now himself undergo. When attached to the stake, he looked round on his executioners, their instruments of torture, and the assembled multitude of spectators, with all the complacency of heroic fortitude: and, after enduring for some hours, with composed mien

and triumphant language, a series of barbarities too atrocious and disgusting to be recited, his sufferings were terminated by the interposition of a French lady, who prevailed with the governor to order that mortal blow, to which human cruelty has given the name of *coup de grace*, or stroke of *favour*.

During Colonel Fletcher's administration (1693), he paid but little personal attention to Indian affairs.

It was fortunate for New York that the incapacity of her governor was prevented from being so detrimental as it might otherwise have proved to her Indian interests, by the confidence he reposed in Major Schuyler, whose weighty influence was employed to preserve the affections and sustain the spirit of the Five Nations. Yet so imperfectly were they assisted by the colony, that Frontignac, even while occupied with other hostilities in New England, was able by his vigour and activity to give them a severe defeat. Roused by this intelligence, Fletcher assembled the militia of New York, and abruptly demanding who was willing to march to the aid of their allies against the French, the men threw up their hats in the air and answered unanimously, "One and all." The march was effected with a rapidity that highly gratified the Indians; and though it produced no substantial advantage to them, it was so favourably regarded as a demonstration of promptitude to aid them, that they were prevented from embracing Frontignac's offers of peace. They could not help observing, however, that it was too frequent with the English to defer their succours till they had become unavailing; and that while the whole power of France in America was concentrated in simultaneous efforts to maintain the French dominion, the English colonies acted with partial and divided operation, and Maryland and Delaware in particular (though the quarrel was said to be a national one) took no share in the hostilities at all.

The remainder of Fletcher's administration was not distinguished by any occurrence that deserves to be particularly commemorated. (1695.) The war between

the French and the Five Nations sometimes languished by the address of Frontignac's negotiations, and was oftener kindled into additional rage and destruction by his enterprise and activity. Neither age nor decrepitude could chill the ardour of this man's spirit, or impair the resources of his capacity. On the threshold of his own fate, and supported in a litter, he flew to every point of attack or defence, to animate the havoc of war, and contemplate the execution of his plans. His own bodily situation had as little effect in mitigating his rigour, as in diminishing his activity: and as their hostilities were prolonged, the French and the Indians seemed to be inspired with a mutual emulation of cruelty in victory, no less than of prowess in battle. The prisoners on both sides were made to expire in tortures; and the French, less prepared by education and physical habits for such extremities of suffering, endured a great deal more evil than they were able to inflict. (1696.) On one occasion, when Frontignac succeeded in capturing a Mohawk fort, it was found deserted of all its inhabitants except a sachem in extreme old age, who sat with the composure of an ancient Roman in his capitol, and saluted his civilized compeer in age and infirmity, with dignified courtesy and venerable address. Every hand was instantly raised to wound and deface his time-stricken frame; and while French and Indian knives were plunged into his body, he recommended to his Indian enemies rather to burn him with fire, that he might teach their French allies how to suffer like men. "Never, perhaps," says Charlevoix, "was a man treated with more cruelty; nor ever did any endure it with superior magnanimity and resolution." The governor of New York, meanwhile, encouraged the Five Nations, from time to time, to persevere in the contest, by endeavouring to negotiate alliances between them and other tribes, and by sending them valuable presents of ammunition and of the European commodities which they principally esteemed: and their intercourse with him fluctuated between grateful acknowledgments of these occasional

supplics, and angry complaints that he fought all his battles by the instrumentality of the Indians. Indeed, except repelling some insignificant attacks of the French on the frontiers of the province, the English governor took no actual share in the war, and left the most important interests of his countrymen to be upheld against the efforts of a skilful and inveterate foe, by the un aided valour of their Indian allies.

(September, 1697.) The peace of Ryswick, which interrupted the hostilities of the French and English, threatened at first to be attended with fatal consequences to the allies, to whose exertions the English had been so highly indebted; and if Fletcher had been permitted to continue longer in the government of New York, this result, no less dangerous than dishonourable to his countrymen, would most probably have ensued. A considerable part of the forces of Count Frontignac had been employed hitherto in warlike operations against Massachusetts and New Hampshire, in conjunction with the numerous Indian allies whom he possessed in that quarter. (1698. Peace of Ryswick.) But the peace of Ryswick, of which he now received intelligence, enabled him to concentrate his whole disposable force against the only foe that remained to him: and refusing to consider the Five Nations as identified with the English, he prepared to invade them with such an army as they never before had to cope with, and overwhelm them with a vengeance which they seemed incapable of resisting. (April.) But Fletcher had now been very seasonably succeeded by the Earl of Bellamont, who was appointed governor both of New York and Massachusetts; and this nobleman being endowed with a considerable share both of resolution and capacity, clearly perceived the danger and injustice of suffering the French project to be carried into effect, and promptly interposed to counteract it. He not only furnished the Five Nations with an ample supply of ammunition and military stores, but notified to Count Frontignac, that if the French should presume to attack them, he would march with the whole forces of his

province to their aid. The count thereupon abandoned his enterprise, and complained to his sovereign (Louis the Fourteenth) of the interruption it had received; while Lord Bellamont, in like manner, apprised King William of the step he had taken. The two kings commanded their respective governors to lend assistance to each other and evince a spirit of accommodation in making the peace effectual to both nations, and to leave all disputes concerning the dependency of the Indian tribes to the determination of the commissioners who were to be named in pursuance of the treaty of Ryswick. Shortly after the reception of these mandates, a peace was concluded between the French and the Five Nations: but not till English insolence and French cunning had nearly detached these tribes entirely from the alliance they had so steadily maintained, by leading them to believe that the English interposed in their concerns for no other reason than that they accounted them their slaves. The French endeavoured to take advantage of their ill humour by prevailing with them to receive an establishment of Jesuits into their settlements. But although the Indians at first entertained the offer, and listened with their usual gravity and politeness to the speech of a Jesuit who had been sent to enforce it, their habitual sentiments soon prevailed over a transient discontent, and they declared their determination to adhere to the English, and to receive, instead of the French priests, a ministry of Protestant pastors which Lord Bellamont had proposed to establish among them.

The war waged by the Corees and Tuscaroras against the Carolinians, noticed in another chapter of this history, was the occasion of adding another tribe to the confederacy of the Five Nations. After the terrible defeat suffered by the Indians on that occasion, the Tuscaroras abandoned their ancient residence in Carolina, and, travelling to the north, united themselves to the Five Nations, whose allies they had been in some of the southern expeditions of the confederated tribes. From a similarity in their language, they were believed

to have had a common origin, and perhaps for this reason they were the more readily received by the haughty magnates of the confederacy. They were readily accommodated with a section of territory to dwell in; and after this, the allied powers were styled the Six Nations. The Tuscaroras, however, were not Mohawks; they were less remarkable for strength and courage than the northern tribes, and consequently were always regarded as inferiors.

From the commencement of the eighteenth century to 1750, the Jesuit missionaries and trading agents of the French succeeded in exerting considerable influence over the Six Nations. By accommodating themselves to the martial tastes of the savages, and dazzling them with the splendid and imposing ceremonies of the Catholic church, they so far ingratiated themselves with the Indians as to obtain their permission to build forts in their territory; and when the last French and Indian war broke out (1754), they even induced four of the tribes to go over to the French and take an active part against the British colonists. Before, however, this war had terminated in the total defeat of the French, the Indians had returned and renewed their alliance with the English.



CHAPTER VIII.

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR.



SECURITY seemed at the close of King William's War to be assured to the people long unaccustomed to it. But peace, now apparently restored to the colonies by the treaty of Ryswick, conferred her blessings but for a short season. The recognition of the Pretender's claims to the British crown by the French court, forthwith led to a declaration of war by Queen Anne, in May, 1702. Villebon, the governor of Canada, began to make encroachments on the English territory; their fishery was interrupted by French ships of war; and a French mission was established at Norridgwog, on the upper part of the Kennebeck. The influence of the French was by this means extended over the Indians; and the governor of Canada instigated them to prevent the English from settling east of the Kennebeck.

Dudley, who was now governor of Massachusetts, had received orders to rebuild the fort at Pemaquid; but could not prevail on the assembly to bear the expense of it. He, however, determined to visit Maine; and taking several gentlemen with him, held a conference at Casco, with delegates from nearly all the surrounding tribes, June 20th, 1703. They there concluded a treaty of peace with the customary formalities; and the Indians assured them that their union should be as

firm as a mountain, and should continue as long as the sun and moon. Notwithstanding these protestations, they made an attack a few weeks after upon all the settlements from Casco to Wells, and killed and took one hundred and thirty persons, burning and destroying all before them.

A week after, August 17th, 1703, a party of Indians killed five people at Hampton village; they also plundered two houses; but the country being now alarmed, they fled without doing any further injury. In the fall of the same year, Colonel March, of Casco, killed six of the enemy, and took six more prisoners; this encouraged the government to offer a bounty of forty pounds for scalps.

During winter, hostilities were suspended, but they commenced with the return of spring. In May, Colonel Church, having planned an expedition to the eastern shore, sailed from Boston with several small boats, for the purpose of ascending rivers. In this expedition he destroyed the towns of Minas and Chignecto; and did considerable damage to the French and Indians at Penobscot and Passamaquoddy.

In the winter, Colonel Hilton, with two hundred and seventy men, proceeded to Norridgwog; but, on arriving there, they found no enemy to contend with; and therefore burnt the deserted wigwams and the chapel.

The governor of Canada encouraged the Indians who inhabited the borders of New England to remove to Canada, which they did, and have ever since remained there. By this policy they became more firmly attached to the French interests. Dudley, who kept a vigilant eye upon them, apprehended a rupture in the winter, and, therefore, made preparations to receive them. But they did not appear till April, 1706; when a small party attacked a house on Oyster river, where they killed eight and wounded two.

In July, Colonel Schuyler, from Albany, informed Dudley that two hundred and seventy of the enemy were on their march toward Piscataqua. He imme-

diately informed the people of it, ordered them to close garrison, and one half of the militia to be ready at a moment's warning. The first appearance of the enemy was at Dunstable. Major Hilton, with sixty-four men, marched forward to meet them, but was obliged to return without accomplishing his object. The enemy had determined to destroy Hilton on account of his bravery and activity; for this purpose a small party continually hovered around his house; and seeing several men advance out of the house with scythes on their shoulders for the purpose of mowing, they attacked them, killed four, wounded one, and took three prisoners. The major, however, escaped.

In the winter of 1707, Hilton made another excursion eastward. In this expedition they killed twenty-one men, and took two prisoners. This was considered a great triumph, since it was so difficult to come to the haunts of the Indians.

It was now the intention of Governor Dudley to make an attack on Port Royal. Early in the spring he applied to the colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut for one thousand men for his expedition. The number was soon raised, and divided into two regiments, one of which was commanded by Colonel Wainwright, and the other by Colonel Hilton. The chief commander was Colonel March. They embarked, and in a few days arrived before Port Royal. They burned several houses, killed some cattle, and made an attempt to bombard the fort; but a disagreement arising between the officers, the army broke up, and re-embarked in a disorderly manner. Some of the officers went to Boston for orders, and some of the vessels put in at Casco. A sloop containing Captain Chesley's company arrived at Portsmouth; he allowed his men to go on shore, ordering them to return at the beat of the drum. Being called to account for this conduct, he alleged that orders had been given at Port Royal for every man to make the best of his way home. The governor was in a great rage on hearing this, and ordered that if any more vessels should come on the coast the men should not be

permitted to land under pain of death. In a short time he ordered Chesley's company to be re-embarked, offering a pardon to those who returned, and threatening those who would not return with a severe punishment. By the latter end of July they got on board, and with the rest of the army proceeded to the place of action. On landing, they were greatly annoyed by an ambuscade of Indians. Major Walton, with the New Hampshire companies, attacked and soon put them to flight. The command of the army was now given to Wainwright. By the last of August the whole affair was terminated; and the army returned sickly, disheartened, and ashamed, having lost sixteen killed and as many wounded.

In September, a party of French Mohawks, painted red, attacked a company of English who were in the woods hewing timber, near Oyster river. At the first fire they killed seven and mortally wounded another. Chesley, the commander of the English, with a few others, kept the enemy in check for some time; but being overpowered by numbers, he at length fell. He was much lamented by his companions, being at that time one of their bravest officers.

In 1708 a large army was prepared in Canada to make an attack on the frontiers of New England. Dudley, receiving information of this, immediately made great preparations for defence. Spy boats were kept out at sea between Piscataqua and Winter harbours. Four hundred Massachusetts soldiers were also posted in this province. At length the storm fell on Haverhill; but the enemy's force being diminished by various accidents, they proceeded no further; and every part of New Hampshire was in a short time again quiet.

The principal object of the colonies was now to wipe away the disgrace they had brought on themselves the last year by their fruitless attempt on Port Royal, by an attempt to conquer Canada itself. For this purpose solicitations had been made in England. These were successful; an expedition was determined on, and

orders were sent to the governors of the several provinces to raise men for the service. After much trouble the troops were raised and all ready to proceed, when news arrived that the fleet promised by the queen was destined to another quarter. But in July, 1710, the British ministry sent out five frigates for the purpose of reducing Port Royal. Troops were raised in the colonies to assist in the expedition, and the whole armament sallied from Boston on the 18th of September, 1710. On the 24th they arrived before the place, and after a few shots were fired it was surrendered. Its name was changed, in honour of the queen, from Port Royal to Annapolis.

After the reduction of Port Royal, Nicholson, the commander of the expedition, went to England to solicit an expedition against Canada. He was successful; and on the 8th of June, 1711, Nicholson came to Boston with orders for the northern colonies to get ready their quotas of men and provisions by the arrival of the fleet and army from Europe, which happened within sixteen days. This army consisted of seven veteran regiments of the Duke of Marlborough's army, and a battalion of marines under the command of Brigadier General Hill, which, joined with the New England troops, made a body of about six thousand five hundred men, provided with a fine train of artillery. The fleet consisted of fifteen ships of war, of from eighty to thirty-six guns, with forty transports, and six store-ships, under the command of Admiral Walker.

The fleet sailed from Boston on the 30th of July; but the sanguine hopes of success entertained by the colonies were blasted in one night; for the fleet having arrived near the river St. Lawrence in the night of the 23d of August, eight of the vessels were wrecked on Egg Island, and one thousand men perished. After holding a consultation, the expedition was broken up, the fleet returned to England, and the New England troops to their homes.

1712. The Indians now began to commit more ravages than ever; but happily news of the treaty of

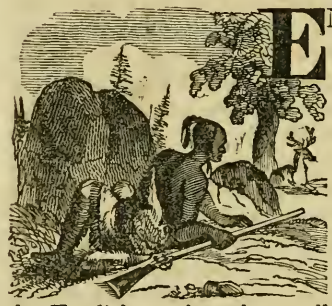
Utrecht arrived at this time, and the Indians, restrained by the French, committed no further ravages. They shortly after made a treaty of peace with governor Dudley, at Portsmouth, N. H.

This war had burdened New England and New York with debt. None of the provinces, however, suffered from it so severely as Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Twenty-five years was the term usually required for doubling the population of the North American colonies by the mere progress of native increase. But during the latter part of the seventeenth and the earlier part of the eighteenth century, the principle of increase was less efficient in Massachusetts and New Hampshire than in any of the other colonies; and in the year 1713, Massachusetts did not contain double the number of inhabitants that it contained fifty years before. The heavy taxes that prevailed during that period, doubtless induced some of the inhabitants to emigrate to other provinces; but the actual carnage of the war appears chiefly to have contributed to repress the increase of population. From the year 1675, when Philip's war began, till the close of Queen Anne's war in 1713, about six thousand of the youth of the country had perished by the stroke of the enemy or by diseases contracted in military service. From the frequency and fertility of marriage in New England, nine tenths of these men, if they had been spared to their country, would have become fathers of families, and in the course of forty years have multiplied to an hundred thousand souls.



CHAPTER IX.

LOVEWELL'S WAR.



ENDURING causes of hostility between the New England colonies and their savage enemies still remained. The situation of the eastern Indians prevented them from remaining quiet any length of time. The French on the one side treated them as an independent nation; the English on the other called them subjects of their king, on account of the patents giving the lands to his people. The English had purchased the land of the Indians, sometimes giving not one-fourth of their worth; at others, paying amply for them. But notwithstanding their just claims to them, the Indians, instigated by the French, found various pretences for evading them. The New England colonies being desirous to avoid a war, held several conferences with them in 1717, but with no satisfactory result. Governor Shute met a large number of chiefs at Orrorosic, and offered them an Indian bible and a missionary. This was rejected; nothing would satisfy them but a settlement of the boundaries, which the governor refused; and this refusal may be considered as the principal cause of the war in which the two parties were shortly after involved. At the head of the Jesuits who were among these tribes, was one Sebastian Ralle, a Frenchman. He made use of every opportunity to excite the sa-

chems against the English, and at length succeeded, as we shall see. The government of Massachusetts saw his influence, and dispatched Colonel Westbrooke to Norridgwog to take him; but he escaped, leaving his papers, which were taken to the governor.

(1722.) The Indians, upon this new aggression, commenced hostilities. They first made an attack upon Fort George, but were foiled by the spirited defence. Furious at this disappointment, they attacked and took the town of Brunswick, which was soon after destroyed.

Massachusetts now found it necessary to make a declaration of war. This was published simultaneously at Boston and Portsmouth. The vigilance of the border garrisons was only exceeded by that of Lieutenant-governor Wentworth, who spent the most of his time in visiting the garrisons and cheering the soldiers. The assembly offered a reward of £100 for every Indian scalp which should be presented to any magistrate. The first place that was visited by the savages in New Hampshire was Dover, where they killed one Joseph Ham, with three of his children; the remainder escaping to the fort.

In the spring of 1724, Kingston was surprised by the Indians. They took four persons, one of whom, a Peter Colcord, escaped and returned to Kingston, where he was rewarded by the assembly, for his ingenuity and the information which he communicated to them concerning the Indians.

At Oyster Bay, Moses Davis, with his son, going to their work in the fields not far distant from the village, discovered several bundles belonging to the Indians, lying on the banks of a brook. Supposing that the owners must be near, they started for the village, where Abraham Renwick, with a company of volunteers, was stationed. Davis reported to him what he had seen, and offered to guide him to the spot. They accordingly started, with Davis and his son in the advance. When within a short distance of the place, a fire from the Indians, who lay in ambush, killed Davis and his son

The English returned the fire, killing one and wounding two; the remainder of the party fled. The one slain was apparently a chief, for he was dressed in the richest manner, wearing a coronet of fur, to which was attached some small bells to show his followers his path when leading them through a thicket. The scalp was presented to government, who gave the reward to Captain Matthews, for the company.

Among the Quakers who dwelt at Dover, was John Hanson, who, like his brethren, refused to make any efforts for the defence of his family in case of an attack. A party of Mohawks seeing this negligence, concealed themselves in the woods about his house waiting for a good opportunity to assault it. One soon offered itself; Hanson, having gone to meeting with his oldest daughter, left two sons at work at a good distance from his house. The Indians immediately entered the house, killed two small babes, and took his wife, and a child fourteen days old, the nurse, and a son and two daughters. These were carried to Canada and sold, but were all redeemed by their father, except one daughter, who married a Frenchman.

During these incursions, the colonists were not idle. Two officers, Captains Harman and Moulton, were appointed by the governments of Massachusetts and New Hampshire to conduct an expedition against Norridgwog. This was executed with so much secresy and success, that Ralle, the Jesuit, with eighty Indians were slain; and the plate and furniture of the chapel, together with the sacred banner, on which was painted a cross surrounded with bows and arrows, were all carried home as trophies. The effect of this expedition on the Indians was to intimidate them; so much so, that when volunteer companies visited their villages for scalps they found them all deserted.

Captain John Lovewell, of Dunstable, raised a volunteer company and met with great success. At one time he fell in with an Indian trail and pursued it till he discovered them asleep on the bank of a pond. They were all killed, and their scalps, stretched upon hoops,

served to decorate their triumphal return. They, of course, received the bounty, which amounted to ten pounds.

(1725.) Lovewell, having augmented his company to 46 men, again set out with the intention of attacking an Indian town on the Saco. They built a fort on the Great Ossapy pond, and then proceeded, leaving one of their number sick, and eight men to guard the fort.

When about 22 miles from the fort they rested on the banks of a pond, where they discovered a single Indian at a distance, on a point of land, and rightly judging that he was attached to a large party of Indians, Lovewell determined to advance and attack them. Accordingly the whole company threw off their packs in one place among the brakes; and, to gain the advantage, the men were spread so as partially to surround the water. Lovewell had, however, mistaken the position of the Indians, who were already on his track, and coming to the place where the packs were deposited, by counting them discovered the number of English to be less than their own. They, therefore, marched to assault the English in the rear, and actually hemmed them in between the mouth of a brook, a rocky point, a deep bog, and the pond. The company, completely surrounded, fought desperately till nightfall, when the Indians, tired of the conflict, moved off. The number of killed and wounded amounted to 23, Lovewell being among the former. The remainder of the party returned to the fort which had been deserted, in consequence of the arrival of one of Lovewell's men who fled at the beginning of the fight, and reported all the rest killed. After resting, they started for home, where they arrived, to the great joy of their friends, after enduring the severest hardships. The survivors were liberally compensated, and the widows and families of the slain were provided for by the government of the province.

In the same year, with the battle just mentioned, three commissioners were dispatched from Massachusetts and New Hampshire to present a remonstrance to

the governor of Canada. The governor, at first, denied all connexion with the Indians; but when the letters to Ralle were produced, he promised to endeavour to pacify them. The commissioners had an interview with the hostile chiefs, but came to no accommodation with them, for their powers did not extend so far. The deputation returned and made their report, which determined the states to carry on the war with more spirit. Every provision that could be was made for defence. In the meanwhile, the Indians repeated their attacks on Dover, where they took three or four prisoners. John Evans was wounded, and the blood flowing very plentifully, the Indians scalped him, and left him as dead. But he was in perfect possession of his faculties all the time the cruel operation of scalping was performed, and lived afterwards fifty years. This was the last action in the war, a treaty having been ratified at Boston.

The chief calamities and expenses of this war fell upon New Hampshire. The hatred existing between the Indians and English was continually fanned by the former, who would often boast to the latter how many they had slain or tortured, naming among the victims, very often, members of the family to which they were telling their adventures.



CHAPTER X.

LAST FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

(1754 to 1759.)



IN forming their first settlements in Louisiana, the French endeavoured to connect their possessions in that region with those of Canada, by a chain of intermediate posts. Fort Niagara had been erected between Lakes Erie and Ontario, and Crown Point, on the south-west of Lake Champlain. This state of things was preserved by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748; and the French, wishing to make the communication between the lakes and the Mississippi more certain, erected new forts along the banks of the Ohio, that they might prevent any other European colony from forming an establishment there. The planters of Virginia now began to cast their eyes upon this country; the cultivation of tobacco quickly exhausted the land, and they proceeded gradually, farther and farther into the country, that they might have a richer soil to cultivate. The increase of their productions encouraged them to pursue their labours; and when a large number of them had arrived at the foot of the Alleghanies, they endeavoured to cross them, and settle on their western side. In London there was formed, in 1749, an association

which was established under the name of the Ohio Company: the British government granted it six hundred thousand acres of land, and a superintendent was sent, in 1751, to choose the site of this grant, and to establish commercial relations with the Indians. But when the governor of Canada heard of this, he gave notice to the English colonies to recall the merchants and planters who had settled on this territory, and declared that he would seize on the persons of those who refused to retire.

The English did not yield to this command, and the governor of Virginia sent, in 1753, a message to the commander of the forts on the Ohio, requesting him to withdraw; but the commander replied that he received no orders but from his most Christian Majesty or the governor of Canada; that the country belonged to the French, and that no Englishman should be allowed to settle upon it. It was necessary to sustain so positive a declaration with energy, and Fort du Quesne was immediately constructed at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela, where the waters of these two rivers unite and form the Ohio. The discontent increased on both sides; complaints multiplied, and finally hostilities broke out, which changed the political situation of this part of the New World.

The English, in this struggle, had a decided superiority in numbers; in the colonies there were twenty times as many inhabitants as in Canada and Louisiana. To balance this, the French had recourse to the Indian nations; their influence over the minds of the savages was skilfully increased by means of their missionaries; they had acquired over some tribes in Louisiana the same ascendency as in Canada, and they formed of them useful auxiliaries. But the minds of the Indians were so wavering that they could not be counted on for continued and vigorous assistance.

When hostilities first commenced, the colonies petitioned England for aid. Little intercourse at that time prevailed between them: they were all independent of one another; and as the mother country had not re-

served the same rights over all of them, she could not enjoy an equal influence in their deliberations, nor compel them to divide among themselves, in a manner proportioned to their resources, all the charges of the common defence. The colonies which were nearest the disputed territory were first engaged in the quarrel which soon became general.

An expedition was prepared against Fort du Quesne, and the English first established a small fort some leagues from that place; but in the month of April, 1754, the French commander marched to the post, at the head of a detachment, and ordered them to depart. As they were very inferior in numbers, they obeyed his orders, and abandoned their works, which were immediately destroyed.

This retreat was but momentary, and the English fell back upon new troops whom they had expected. A regiment raised in Virginia, and placed under the command of Colonel Frye, was proceeding at the same time, towards the banks of the Monongahela: George Washington, then twenty-two years of age, was lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, to which several bodies of Indians were attached. He did not wait the complete formation of this corps to proceed to the theatre of military operations; he conducted the recruits first raised to the Great Meadows, where he commenced the construction of Fort Necessity; and, with two companies of soldiers and a body of Indians, he approached Fort du Quesne, that he might discover the best way in which the troops could reach it. Arrived within some leagues of the fort, he met a French detachment of twenty or thirty men, who received at first from the English two discharges of musketry. Inmonville, the commander of the detachment, endeavoured to make it understood that he had a commission for the English commander; but before he could make this known he was killed by a musket-ball; his troops were surrounded, and all were taken prisoners except one, who made his escape and carried the news to Fort du Quesne.

After this event, Washington returned to Fort Necessity, taking with him his prisoners, who were afterwards sent to Virginia; and whilst they were continuing to fortify this post, where the English were receiving new troops, the French resolved to attack them. A body of five hundred regular troops with a great number of Indians, was charged with this expedition, which set out June 28th, under the command of Captain Villiers, brother of Inmonville.

On the 3d of July, they arrived before Fort Necessity and immediately began the attack. A continual fire was kept up; this lasted till evening; the English had already lost one hundred and fifty men; and Villiers, wishing to spare a farther effusion of blood, summoned them to surrender under articles of capitulation. The conditions were signed in the night; and Washington having become commander of the fort in consequence of the death of Colonel Frye, retired from the place with the honours of war. The English engaged on their part to send immediately to Fort du Quesne the prisoners whom they had formerly taken.

On the 1st of February, 1755, General Braddock arrived in Virginia and took command of the army. He established his head-quarters at Alexandria, where he assembled his troops, and on the 18th of April convoked a congress of the different colonies, to concert with them the system of operation for the ensuing campaign. It was then determined to form three expeditions, one near the boundaries of Acadia, another near Lake Champlain, and a third near Lake Ontario, whilst Braddock himself should march to the Ohio and take Fort du Quesne. He had under his command three thousand troops, consisting of regulars and militia, besides a small body of Indians, and marched forward till he arrived at the Great Meadows, where he made a fortified camp, and left Colonel Dunbar there with eight hundred men. He himself proceeded with the main body till he arrived within seven miles of the fort. Braddock was a very able general, but he had never before served in America, and was wholly unacquainted with the Indian mode of fighting.



Captain Contracœur, commander of Fort du Quesne, learned, on the 8th of July, that the English were approaching; he had but few men under his command, but he placed all the troops he could dispose of under the direction of Captain Beaujeu. They left the fort at eight o'clock in the morning, and met the English about mid-day. They immediately began the attack, whilst their Indian auxiliaries sought to surround the English by spreading from right to left in the thick forest. Braddock, instead of sending out an advanced guard to scour the thickets, bore down with his whole force against the enemy who were before him. Beaujeu was killed at the third discharge, and Captain Dumas took the command. The Indians, concealed in the woods, shot down the English while they themselves were invisible; and the ranks of Braddock's army were so thinned in a short time that they ceased to resist, and began to fly; most of the officers were either killed or wounded in attempting to restore order. Braddock, himself, was mortally wounded, and carried from the field of battle, where he left his artillery, and a third part of his soldiers. (*See Engraving on opposite page.*) Those who survived this disaster, and could have rallied round Colonel Dunbar, only joined him to carry confusion into his camp, and to drag him with them in their flight. They did not stop till they reached Virginia; and the establishments of the interior were thus left to the mercy of the Indians. Previous to the battle, Washington, who was aid to Braddock, had warned him of the danger of a surprise, and advised him to send forward scouts to prevent it; but his advice was scornfully rejected. It was chiefly owing to his skill and bravery that the remnant of the army was saved.

The war in America now took different forms. Colonel Monckton, an English officer, had been charged to extend towards the north the boundaries of Acadia, which was still limited to the peninsula of that name. On the isthmus which separates the continent from this peninsula, the French had erected two forts, named Gasparaux and Beauséjour. But Great Britain wished

to possess all the region situated between Acadia and New England: she demanded of France the cession of a territory of twenty leagues in width, along the whole northern shore of the bay of Fundy; and, not being able to obtain it by the negotiations of commissioners charged with the making of the limits, Colonel Monckton suddenly attacked Fort Beauséjour with three thousand men. This fortress sustained the siege for fourteen days, and did not capitulate till the 16th of June. The reduction of this fort led to that of Fort Gasparaux, which had a garrison of but forty men; and the English spreading themselves to the north of the bay, proceeded to attack Fort St. John, near the river of this name. The commander having but a few men, burnt the fort, and retired into the interior of the country where the Abénaquis (or eastern Indians) had taken arms, and from whence they made frequent incursions into Acadia.

While these events were passing in Acadia, a body of English troops, and three hundred Indians from the Six Nations, under the command of General William Johnson, advanced towards Crown Point, but first determined to attack Fort Ticonderoga, then recently erected by the French; but the governor of Canada had already provided for its defence, and the French wishing to be beforehand with Johnson, first defeated a detachment of one thousand men, and on the 8th of September, 1755 attacked his camp; but in this affair Dieskau, their commander, was mortally wounded and taken prisoner; they were defeated with the loss of seven hundred men, and were driven back upon Fort Ticonderoga. Johnson was also wounded, and his loss in these two battles, or his want of activity, prevented him from accomplishing the purposes of his expedition.

The defeat of the English near Fort du Quesne gave the advantages of the war thus far to the French. The Cherokees took advantage of this event to rise up against the English. They were, besides, stimulated to do this by emissaries from the Indians of the Ohio. But they were met in conference by Governor Glen, of South

Carolina, and renewed their treaties, making also additional grants of land.

War had not been formally declared between France and England. But France seizing on the island of Minorca, Great Britain declared war on the 17th of May, 1756. Lord Loudoun, the commander-in-chief of the English troops in America, a most inefficient officer, was at first obliged to act on the defensive; he established his head-quarters at Albany, when he contented himself with protecting the threatened territories. New England raised a force of three thousand men; New York contributed a like number; and these, joined to the force of General Johnson, again prepared to attack Ticonderoga and Crown Point. But during the preparations for this expedition, the Marquis de Montcalm attacked Fort Oswego, situated on the southern shore of Lake Ontario. This fortress was occupied by fifteen hundred men; it surrendered on the 14th of August, 1756, after having sustained the siege for some days. The garrison were made prisoners; and being mercilessly abandoned to the cruelties of the Indians by the French, many of them were murdered. This loss having disconcerted the plan of operations of the English, they could not, during the remainder of the campaign, accomplish any thing effectual.

Lord Loudoun commenced the campaign of 1757 at the head of six thousand troops, raised in New England, New York, and New Jersey, with which, it was expected, by the Americans, that he would again attempt the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. But the news of a considerable armament having been dispatched from Britain to Nova Scotia, caused him to alter his intention and unite his force with this armament at Halifax and attempt the reduction of Louisburg. But he discovered, when too late, that this place was garrisoned by six thousand troops, besides militia, and defended by seventeen line-of-battle ships. He therefore dismissed the provincial troops, and returned to New York, there to learn the disaster which his conduct had

occasioned in another quarter, and which crowned the disgrace of this inglorious campaign.

Montcalm, the French commander, taking advantage of Lord Loudoun's absence from the proper scene of action, advanced with an army of nine thousand men, and laid siege to Fort William Henry, which was garrisoned by nearly three thousand troops, partly English and partly American, and commanded by an English officer, Colonel Monroe. The security of this important post was supposed to be further promoted by its proximity to Fort Edward, fourteen miles distant from it, where the English general, Webb, was stationed with four thousand men. Had Webb done his duty, Fort William Henry might have been saved. But he gave no succour to the besieged, nor did he even endeavour to aid the place by summoning the American governments to send militia to their relief. He merely wrote a letter to Monroe, advising him to surrender. Montcalm, on the other hand, pressed the assault on Fort William Henry with the utmost vigour and skill. He had inspired his own daring spirit into the French soldiers, and had roused the fury and enthusiasm of his Indian allies by promises of revenge and plunder. After a spirited resistance of six days, Monroe, having exhausted his ammunition, and seeing not the slightest prospect of relief, was compelled to surrender the place by a capitulation, the terms of which were, that the garrison should not serve against the French for eighteen months; that they should march out with the honours of war; and, retaining their private baggage, be escorted to Fort Edward by the French troops, as a security gainst the lawless ferocity of the Indians.

This treaty of capitulation was violated by Montcalm in a manner which fixes eternal disgrace on his memory. No sooner had the garrison marched out, and surrendered their arms, in reliance upon the pledge of the French general, than a furious and irresistible attack was made upon them by the Indians, who stripped them both of their baggage and clothes, and murdered or made prisoners of all who attempted resistance. At



least fifteen hundred persons were thus slaughtered or carried into captivity. Such was the lot of eighty men belonging to a New Hampshire regiment, of which the complement was but two hundred. A number of the Indian allies of the English, who had formed part of the garrison, fared still more miserably. They were seized by their savage enemies, and perished in lingering and barbarous torture. (*See Engraving on the opposite page.*) Of the garrison of Fort William Henry, little more than half were enabled to gain the shelter of Fort Edward, in a straggling and wretched condition.

This disaster roused the colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut, who raised and dispatched a force to arrest the further progress of the French. But Montcalm, content with this savage triumph, attempted nothing further in that quarter: the only additional operation of the French, for this season, was a predatory excursion in concert with their Indian allies against the flourishing settlement of German Flats, in the province of New York, and along the Mohawk river, which region they utterly wasted with fire and sword.

The English now determined to attempt the conquest of Cape Breton. Accordingly a fleet under Admiral Boscawen sailed for this island, and arrived on the 2d of June, 1758, in the bay of Gabori. The troops were landed; their chief commander was General Amherst, and under him were Brigadier-Generals Lawrence, Wolf and Whitmore. They proceeded towards Louisburg, which place, after a severe resistance, capitulated: it was stipulated that the garrison should depart with the honours of war, that the island of Cape Breton should be surrendered, and that the island of St. John should also be given up.

General Abercrombie, who succeeded Lord Loudon in the command of the army, now determined to proceed against General Montcalm, who was encamped near Ticonderoga with three thousand regular troops, and twelve hundred Canadians and Indians. They were attacked by the English on the 8th of July, 1758;

but the British were defeated with the loss of two thousand men, killed or taken prisoners.

Notwithstanding the loss which the English had sustained, they still had the advantage of numbers, and formed other enterprises. Colonel Bradstreet proceeded towards Fort Frontignac, situated on the eastern extremity of Lake Ontario, and on the 27th of August, succeeded in making himself master of it. This capture interrupted the communications of Lower Canada with the great lakes; and the English found in the arsenal a great quantity of arms and munitions of war, destined for the French troops on the banks of the Ohio. Another expedition was now directed towards Fort du Quesne, which could no longer receive from Canada the assistance which it previously had enjoyed. But before attacking this place the English had sought to detach the Delawares, Shawanese, Mingoes, and several other Indian tribes adjacent to the river, from their alliance with the French. In the preceding year, a treaty of peace had been concluded at Easton, between the Pennsylvanians and the Delawares; and this treaty led to a good understanding with the other tribes.

A Moravian brother, named Frederick Post, of German origin, was charged with this important mission. He had lived seventeen years in the midst of the Mohican Indians, with the design of converting them to Christianity. He departed from Philadelphia July 15th, 1758, and soon arrived on the banks of the Monongahela. The chief of the Delaware tribe was with him; he wished that all the Indians from the rising to the setting of the sun, would form but one body; he desired to inspire them with the love of peace; and he sent messengers to all the neighbouring tribes, to invite their chiefs to assemble with him around the council fire and smoke together the pipe of peace.

A deputation of Shawanese and Mingoes soon joined him; they proceeded nearer to Fort du Quesne, from which they were now no longer separated except by the bed of the river. The French commander could



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not prevent this interview, although he feared its results. Post now rose and explained the objects of the meeting in a few words, stating that the English sought their love instead of hatred, and that they desired a peace with them. (*See Engraving on the opposite page.*)

After having heard these propositions, the chiefs proceeded to deliberate upon them, and a few days after they declared that they would accede to the conditions of peace already concluded with the Delawares. Post having accomplished his mission, quitted the banks of the Ohio, August 27th, and returned to give an account of the success of his expedition.

Post afterwards proceeded to the valley of Beaver Creek, among the Shawanese, whose territory extended as far as the Scioto. The French sent messengers to these Indians inviting them to come to Fort du Quesne in all haste, to assist them against the English; but their opinions had by this time been changed; they refused to go; and the successive abandonment of the different tribes took from the French all power of defending the place; they therefore resolved to abandon it, and await assistance in some other place. Accordingly, on the 25th of November, they left the post, and a few days afterwards, General Forbes arrived and took possession of it. The loss of Fort du Quesne led to that of all the other French posts situated on and near the Ohio.

In 1759, the English fitted out a maritime expedition against the French possessions in the Antilles. They landed eight thousand men on the 16th of February, on the island of Martinico. But General Beauharnais, governor of the island, marched against them at the head of the troops and colonists, and compelled them to re-embark. The fleet then sailed to Guadaloupe.

The preparations for the invasion of Canada were now nearly completed. A fleet set out under the command of Admiral Saunders, and ten thousand men were placed under the orders of General Wolf. A part of the army landed, June 29th, 1759, on the west-

ern extremity of the island of Orleans; two other divisions afterwards landed, one near Point Levi, the other near Montmorency Falls. The English army was thus divided into three bodies, placed at the distance of some miles from one another; and it was at first unknown to the French upon what point the principal attack would be made.

The French camp charged with protecting the capital was established in the plains of Beaufort, separated from Quebec by the river St. Charles: Montcalm was commander of the army; but he had to concert his operations with the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor of Canada, one of whose officers was then in the camp.

On the 12th of July, the English batteries on the heights of Lausou began a destructive fire, and the shells they threw into the lower city soon destroyed a great part of it. On the 31st of the same month the English made an attack on the left wing of the French camp, but were defeated. They now placed small detachments in light vessels which ravaged the shores of the river, and distracted the attention of the French, who were finally obliged to send a detachment of two thousand men under the command of Bougainville to protect the shores. This officer established his headquarters at the village of Sillery, about three leagues from Quebec, and placed a line of sentinels along the river, so that the English could now make no attempt at landing without being discovered.

General Wolf having now by degrees assembled all his forces at Point Levi, on the night of the 12th of September, embarked in vessels and landed on the left side of the river. He surprised the first post of the enemy; and finally succeeded in reaching the heights of Abraham without giving the alarm to the French.

As soon as day broke the English were perceived by their astonished enemy, ranged in battle order; and a council of the principal French officers being held, it was resolved to march immediately against them. Accordingly, Montcalm proceeded against the English· many charges were made, and the engagement

was so destructive as to occasion considerable disorder in both armies. The English had the advantage of numbers, and were ranged in two lines; so that if the first were broken they could rally behind the second. But the French were drawn out in a single line, and they were soon thrown into confusion. Montcalm himself was mortally wounded, and Seunezergue, the second in command, was killed on the spot. The English now soon put to flight the army which was destitute of a commander, and was already in utter disorder. General Wolf, the brave commander of the English, was also killed, so that both the generals shared the same fate.

Vaudreuil now left Quebec with his troops, and authorized Ramsay, the commander of the city, to capitulate on the best conditions that he could obtain. Accordingly, on the 18th of September articles of capitulation were signed; the garrison left the city with their arms and baggage, drums beating, and embarked, to be landed at the first port of France. George Townsend, becoming commander of the English army after the death of General Wolf, took possession of the place.

This important conquest led to the immediate submission of Upper Canada, while the French still occupied Montreal and several other fortified places; but they had lost, in the beginning of the siege of Quebec, Niagara fort. This loss, and that of Fort Frontignac, gave to the English the navigation of Lake Ontario, and enabled them to send by this route a new body of troops to Montreal and the neighbouring places; and the conquest of all Canada, and the consequent expulsion of the French power from this part of North America, was the immediate consequence.

CHAPTER XI.

PONTIAC'S WAR.



GREAT as were many of the western Indian warriors, none was greater than Pontiac, a chief whose fame was not only spread throughout America, but widely diffused in Europe. He was the chief of all the Indians on the chain of lakes: the Ottawas, to which he belonged, the Miamis, Chippewas, Wyandots, Pottawatomies, Winnebagoes, Shawanese, Ottagamies, and Mississagas, all of which tribes afterwards were led by Tecumseh. Pontiac is said to have possessed a majestic and princely appearance, so pleasing to the Indians, and this in part accounts for his popularity among them.

In 1760, after the capture of Quebec, Major Rogers was sent into the country of Pontiac to drive the French from it. Being informed of his approach, Pontiac sent word to him to wait until he came to him. The major waited, and when Pontiac came, that chief asked him why he entered his dominions without permission. The major answered that he came not against the natives but the French; and at the same time gave the chief several belts of wampum; whereupon Pontiac replied, "I stand in the path you travel until to-morrow morning." By this was meant that he must not proceed



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until the next morning. Upon an offer of the Indian, Major Rogers bought a large quantity of parched corn, and other provisions. The next day Pontiac offered him every facility for the undertaking. Messengers were sent to the different tribes to assure them that the English had his permission to pass through the country, and he even accompanied the major and troops as far as Detroit. He was noted for the desire of knowledge, and while the English were in his country, he was very curious in examining their arms, clothes, &c., and expressed a wish to go to England. He said that he would allow white settlements within his domains; and was willing to call the king of England *uncle*, but not master. He further told the soldiers that they must behave themselves peaceably while in his country, or he would stop the way.

Pontiac had distinguished himself at Detroit and Michillimackinac. When the French gave up Canada (1760), their Indian allies still preserved their hatred towards the English, and as Pontiac was the most considerable enemy of that nation, the adjacent tribes *all came* to him as a support against them. Pontiac had advanced farther in civilization than any of the neighbouring chiefs: he appointed a commissary during the war of 1763, called Pontiac's war; and issued bills of credit, on each of which was pictured the thing desired, and the figure of an otter, the symbol of his tribe. In 1763 Major Rogers sent a bottle of brandy to him, which Pontiac was counselled not to drink, as it probably contained poison. But with the greatest magnanimity he exclaimed, "It is not in his power to kill *him* who has so lately saved his life."

Early in 1763 indications began to exhibit themselves of an unfriendly disposition among the tribes of Pontiac; and some persons informed Major Gladwin, who commanded at Detroit, of this circumstance. The commander immediately sent some soldiers into the Indian country, who returned, saying that all was peaceable.

About the same time, some traders reported at Fort

Michillimackinac that the Indians were preparing for hostilities. Major Etherington, the commander, refused credit to any such stories, and even threatened to send the next person who retailed such false reports prisoner to Detroit. It was also observed that the Indians began to assemble in large numbers, and even spread themselves in the town. This latter circumstance was reported to the major by one of his friends, who added that they should not be trusted. This advice was received with derision, and he was accused of timidity.

On the king's birth-day, June 4th, a large band of Indians collected without the palisades of the fort, to play ball. This was played with a bat, which knocked the ball a great distance; and as the game was interesting, the whole of the garrison, about ninety men, were lookers-on. In the midst of the game, the ball was intentionally knocked into the fort, and all the Indians leaping the palisades, took the guards and garrison prisoners, and thus obtained possession of Michillimackinac. Seventy of the garrison were slaughtered, and the other twenty made slaves. A day or two after, a party, in a vessel from Montreal, not knowing of the capture, came to the fort and were taken by the Indians. In this affair, Pontiac did not engage in person, but connived at it.

Within ten days after this, every post in Michigan, except Detroit, fell into the hands of Pontiac. This was closely invested by Pontiac, before the taking of Michillimackinac. The garrison consisted of three hundred men. The Indians, on their first appearance, had their wives, and commodities for trade; and from this, no suspicion of stratagem was aroused. The chief encamped near the fort, and sent word to Major Gladwin that he wished to have a talk with him, to brighten the chain of peace between the English and him. To this the major agreed, and fixed the ensuing morning for the meeting. In the meantime, an incident occurred which prevented the destruction of the fort.

An Indian woman who had been making moccasins

of elk-skin, came to Major Gladwin with a pair of them, and brought the remaining skin. The major returned the skin for her to make another pair, and then dismissed her. When the time came for strangers to leave the place, she remained in the area. When questioned as to her stay, she would not answer, and her strange demeanour being reported to the major, she was ordered into his presence. The major having inquired why she stayed, she answered with much hesitation, that she did not wish to take away the skin, as he valued it so much. He inquired why she did not object to it before. She answered, with some confusion, that if she took it, she could never return it to him. Judging, from this, that the woman knew of some plot of the Indians for the capture of the fort, he promised her protection and reward, if she would tell what was the matter. Reassured, she informed him that each Indian that would attend the council on the morrow, would have a fusil under his blanket, and when Pontiac should give the signal by handing the peace-belt of wampum to the commander, they would commence the attack. While the council was sitting, a large number of warriors were to enter the town to assist in the massacre.

After obtaining all possible information from the woman, he discharged her, and proceeded to make arrangements for a counterplot. He put the soldiers in possession of the information, and, after seeing that the guards for the night were placed, he retired to his house.

During the night, a strange war-cry sounded from the Indian quarters. Each man repaired to his post, but no attack was made.

At the hour of ten next day, Pontiac, with a number of warriors, was admitted, and then the gates were closed. This, and the number of soldiers that surrounded the council-house, did not fail to attract the notice of the chief. But Major Gladwin told him that the troops were only drilling, and this seemed to satisfy him. The council opened by a speech of Pontiac, in

the midst of which he passed the belt to the governor, but neglected the signal, for he saw, from the half-drawn swords of the officers, that they were betrayed. With great presence of mind, he continued his speech, which contained numberless protestations of eternal friendship to the English. When he concluded, Major Gladwin spoke, and reproached him with the conspiracy. Pontiac denied that any such plot had been contrived; but when the governor drew aside the blanket of the chief nearest him, and disclosed the gun, the Indian was silenced. The governor ordered them to leave the fort, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the men could be restrained from cutting them to pieces. So jealous was Gladwin of his honour, that he retained no one of them for a hostage, but kept his word to let them go unharmed and without hindrance.

On the next day, a furious attack was made by Pontiac's warriors on the fort. They thrust a cart full of combustibles against the pickets: they began to shoot fire-arrows at a church, but were stopped by a French priest, who assured the chief that it would bring down the vengeance of God upon him. At length they commenced making a breach in the pickets, and the governor ordered his men to assist them from the inside. When a passage was opened, the savages rushed forward; but were almost all destroyed by a four-pounder which was fired among them as they entered. The rest retreated; and the place was repaired. This defeat, however, prevented them from assaulting the fort any more; but they commenced a blockade which caused great distress in the garrison.

Fort Pitt and Fort Niagara were closely besieged at the same time, which prevented any succour being sent to Detroit, but being relieved by Colonel Bouquet, Captain Dalyell was sent on the 29th July. A day or two after, Captain Dalyell, with two hundred and forty-seven men, attempted to surprise Pontiac in his camp; but that chief being apprised by his runners of his coming prepared for them near a bridge, where he concealed his men behind a picket fence. When the troops came

to this ambush, they received a destructive fire from their unseen enemy. They immediately turned and strove to repass the bridge, but this was not accomplished without great loss. About two hundred men regained the fort without Captain Dalyell, who was slain on the bridge. In this affair, commonly called the battle of Detroit, nineteen men were killed and forty-two wounded; among the latter were Captain Gray and Lieutenants Brown and Luke. The bridge on which it was fought has, since then, been called "Bloody Bridge."

Shortly after the battle, several vessels, bringing provisions to the besieged, were intercepted by Pontiac, and their crews were cruelly treated. On the 8th September, a schooner from Fort Niagara, manned with eighteen men, arrived near Detroit, but being fired upon by the Indians, tacked and stood out into the strait. She was followed by the Indians in their canoes, who, after killing almost all the crew, boarded her and began to ransack the cabin. The captain, seeing that he would be killed if he fell into their hands, resolved to effect their destruction with his own. He cried out to the gunner to fire the magazine. A Huron, who understood English, hearing this, told his fellows, and a general retreat to the canoes ensued, and the schooner sailed up to the fort. The governor was so grateful for this deliverance from starvation, that he had silver medals struck commemorative of the event, and presented to every one of the crew.

The siege of Detroit lasted twelve months, and by that time General Bradstreet marched for the relief of it. Pontiac being informed of this, sued for peace, which was granted, and he returned to his own country. He was a good friend to the English after this war, and the government rewarded him with a pension. He was inclined, it is said, to assist the Americans in the Revolution, but was prevented by General Hamilton of Detroit.

During the war he went into Illinois to an Indian council there, and the English, suspecting him, employed an Indian as a spy upon him. When he attended

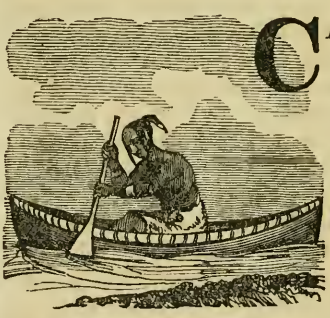
the council he made a speech unfriendly to the English, and was stabbed to the heart by the treacherous spy.

Pontiac was an uncommon man for talents and sagacity. Every war in which he engaged was favourable to his tribes; and he never allowed himself to be misled by either the English or French. He was as cautious in the council as in the field; determined and successful in his schemes; and, in short, was unequalled by any Indian chief, unless we except Philip of Pokanoket.

CHAPTER XII.

WAR OF THE WESTERN INDIANS.

(1763.)



CANADA, and all the dependent provinces east of the Mississippi, were now lost to France; and the renunciation of these possessions entirely changed the situation of the Indians; those who dwelt south of the great lakes experienced, above all, the effects of this cession. The French had occupied there but a few establishments; and they had formed around these posts, and under their shelter, several plantations, the addition of which was hardly taken notice of; these positions offered, in time of war, means of defence, and rallying points; they insured during peace commercial communications, and a mutual confidence reigned between the French and a great many of the tribes.

The Indian nations placed between the colonies of France and England enjoyed, besides, a great influence in the quarrels of the two nations; they both sought to gain their friendship, and to employ them as auxiliaries.

This political importance of the Indians was materially diminished when they had only one European power for neighbours, and when they were surrounded by its possessions. The chain of fortified posts which were occupied by the English, was composed of Forts Frontignac and Niagara, near Lake Ontario; those of Buffalo, Presqueîle, and Sandusky, to the south of Lake Eric; Forts Miami and Detroit, towards its western extremity; those of St. Joseph, Green-Bay, and Michillimackinac, around Lake Michigan; the posts of the west were those of Illinois, Chartres, and Kaskaskia; and in the interior were found the Forts of Vincennes, on the Wabash; of Massiac, near the mouth of the Tennessee; of William, near the mouth of the Kentucky; and of Pittsburg, upon the Ohio.

The Indians on the territory over which these different posts were dispersed, were thus suddenly deprived of the assistance of a power which had habitually protected them; and were consequently much alarmed. They regarded these forts as the cradles of so many new colonies; and seeing the rapid increase of the English in all the regions they had conquered, they feared that each of these new establishments would extend in the same manner; and that all the American nations finally crowded upon one another would lose, progressively, their territory. Struck with this opinion, which so many successive losses had greatly strengthened in their minds, the Indians sought to unite, and prevent, by an unforeseen attack, the perils with which they believed themselves to be menaced. The Shawanese, Delawares, and the Indians of the Ohio, put themselves at the head of this confederation, which was formed in 1763; the operations of war were distributed among all the tribes, and the forts occupied by the English on the frontiers of their new territory were simultaneously attacked by the neighbouring Indians. The greater

part of these posts had but feeble garrisons; the recent conclusion of peace augmented their security, and as they were not on their guard, the success of the enemy was more easy. The forts of Niagara, Detroit, and Pittsburg, were the only ones they did not seize; the garrisons in them were more numerous, and they were better provisioned. The first was not even attacked; Major Gladwin gallantly defended the second against the Ottawas; and Fort Pittsburg, commanded by Captain Ecuyer, resisted all the efforts of the Indians of the Ohio. A body of troops, under the command of Colonel Bouquet, was sent to the assistance of this place; he proceeded towards Fort Sigonier, and gained afterwards, by forced marches, the valley of Bushy-Run; the defiles appeared to be still free; but on the 5th of August, 1763, the English were suddenly surrounded by a cloud of enemies, who rushed down from the neighbouring heights, and assailed them on all sides in this narrow passage. The Indians have a manner of fighting which always renders them formidable in this woody country. Their skirmishes are frequent; they know well how to form ambuscades; motionless during whole days, they await in silence the arrival of an enemy; if they are too feeble to capture them, they only fly to return to the charge at another point; their retreat is but a stratagem; they fly so swiftly that they cannot be overtaken; and it is necessary to surround them on every side in order to conquer them.

In this sequel of engagements which began about mid-day, the English troops finally drove the Indians from all their positions; but the next morning at day-break, they were again surrounded by more numerous forces. Colonel Bouquet resolved to come to a decisive battle; and when the action was commenced, he ordered the centre of the line to fall back with the view of drawing upon this point the principal attack of the Indians. His design was successful; the savages rushed into the passage thus opened to them; but the troops who retreated hastily proceeded to form an ambuscade upon a height, covered with underwood, where their move-

ments could not be perceived: suddenly they appeared, and rushed with impetuosity upon the flanks of the enemy, who, surprised and disconcerted by this unexpected attack, were neither able to sustain the shock, nor to gain their places of retreat. A great number of them perished in these two battles of the 5th and 6th of August. This was the last attempt of the savages; and Colonel Bouquet, pursuing his course towards Pittsburg, arrived there four days afterwards with his convoy, of which he had been obliged to destroy a part, because a great number of the horses had sunk under the fatigue and perils of the march. The object of his expedition was accomplished; Pittsburg was relieved. The Indians, discouraged by two successive defeats, had abandoned the siege; and Colonel Bouquet, having not enough troops to pursue them into their forests, returned to take up his winter quarters in Pennsylvania.

The savages, descending the valleys of the Ohio, did not believe themselves in safety till they arrived at the Muskingum. There, they collected their forces; they sought other allies, and awaited the spring to renew their hostilities, and again ravage the frontiers. But General Gage, becoming commander of the British army, prepared two expeditions against them. A body of troops, under the command of Colonel Bradstreet, proceeded against the Wyandots, Ottawas, Chippewas, and other nations near the great lakes: another body, under Colonel Bouquet, was, as in the preceding campaign, to attack the nations situated between the great lakes and the Ohio. Bradstreet proceeded rapidly to Sandusky, and again took possession of all the forts of the north-west, that he might be able to restrain the Indians of these countries, and compel them to demand peace but the preparations for the expedition of the south required much more time, and the troops that formed a part of it did not arrive at Pittsburg till the 17th of September, 1764. The Indians of Ohio were then disconcerted with their imminent danger, and they sent messengers to Colonel Bouquet to treat for peace; as their propositions, however, were still ambiguous, the

colonel, wishing to put an end to their uncertainty, penetrated farther into the interior of their country; he gained the valleys of Beaver Creek and Muskingum; and the Indians, not being able to stop his march, demanded, on the 17th of October, a conference to be held next day. That officer proceeded to the place appointed with a body of regular troops, the Virginia volunteers, and a troop of light-horsemen: the chiefs of the Delawares, Shawanese, and Senecas, appeared with their principal warriors; and the colonel, after having recounted the infractions of their late treaty, told them that he would not grant them peace unless they would deliver to him all the prisoners whom they had in their possession: "I have with me," said he, "the relations and friends of those whom you have captured: they burn with the desire of revenge, and demand satisfaction. The Ottawas, Chippewas, and Wyandots, have already made a treaty of peace; we are masters of the Ohio, the Mississippi, the Miamis, and the lakes; we have surrounded you on every side, and could extirpate your whole nation; but we will not treat you with so much rigour, if you deliver to us within twelve days, and without exception, all your prisoners, English and French, men, women, and children, and also all the blacks whom you have taken away."

On the first day, the Delawares restored eighteen Europeans, and they collected together, as a symbol of the other restitutions which they would make, a bundle of eighty-three stalks of young plants, expressing the number of prisoners who were then absent. The Shawanese hesitated to make such an engagement; and to compel them to do it, Colonel Bouquet advanced into their country as far as the Scioto: they then agreed to restore their prisoners. On the 9th of November, two hundred and six of them were brought into the camp. On the same day a new conference was held for a treaty of peace: a treaty was first concluded between the Senecas and Delawares, and their orator, Kiyashuta, gave the necklaces or accustomed presents. "I offer this wampum to dry up the tears of your eyes,

and I restore unto you the last man of your flesh and blood who remains in the hands of the Senecas and Delawares. Let us bury with this other wampum all the men who have perished during the war which the evil spirit has raised up; and let us again cover with earth and leaves their dead bodies, so that they may no longer be seen, and that all the traces of our hate may be buried." The same conditions were afterwards made with the Shawanese; and these, still preserving in their defeat their proud and noble character, declared that they did not renounce the war on account of their feebleness and exhaustion, but in commiseration of their wives and children.

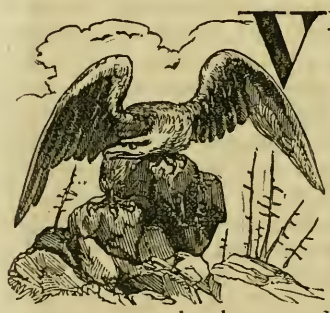
The arrival of all the prisoners in the camp afforded a very affecting scene. Fathers, husbands, and brothers recognised their sons, wives, and sisters, from whom they had been separated: others seeking in vain for those whom they had lost, did not dare to inquire concerning their fate. The Indians themselves delivered up their captives with great regret; for they had become attached to them, and had admitted them into their families; they, therefore, left them with tears, and recommended them to the English commander. These prisoners had never been treated like slaves, and the Indians, in granting them life, had adopted and cherished them as brothers, sisters, and children; many had settled among the savages; they had learned their language, and adopted their customs, but were compelled to return among the Europeans: some of them escaped and returned to the Indian settlements.

The army having accomplished its design, proceeded homeward on the 18th of November; they reached Pittsburg on the 28th; garrisons were sent to the different posts. The prisoners proceeded towards their native countries; and Colonel Bouquet returned, in the beginning of January, 1765, to Philadelphia, where the representatives of Pennsylvania rendered him and his soldiers the thanks due to their services. The same was done by the representatives of Virginia; and the King of England, George III., honoured the merits of the colo-

nel by appointing him brigadier-general of his armies and by confiding to him a command in the southern provinces of North America.

CHAPTER XIII.

INDIAN WARS OF CAROLINA PREVIOUS TO THE REVOLUTION.



VERY soon after the English first settled in South Carolina, it was ascertained that this state was occupied by about twenty different tribes of Indians. These Indians viewed the encroachments made on their territories by the whites with a jealous eye, but yet did not take any measures to resist them; and the whites finally gained possession of a great part of the territory. But in the end the Indians began to perceive that if matters went on in this way the English would soon expel them from their native forests; and contests, therefore, soon broke out between the planters and parties of Indians, in which many lives were lost. A price was at last fixed on every Indian taken prisoner and brought to Charleston, from whence they were sent to the West Indies and sold as slaves. This measure may appear to nave been very inhuman; but the planters had no other means of getting rid of such troublesome enemies, and therefore necessity pleaded in its vindication.

In the year 1680, a war broke out with the Westoes,

one of the most powerful tribes in the province: a peace was concluded in the subsequent year, and not much loss was sustained by either party. In the year 1702, Governor Moore marched into the country occupied by the Apalachian Indians, who, being instigated by the Spaniards, had commenced hostilities, took a great number of them prisoners, and obliged the rest to submit to the English government.

The next war with the Indians broke out in 1712. Several of the most powerful tribes of Indians, among whom were the Tuscaroras and Corees, united together, and formed a plot to murder or expel the English. Their plan was carried on with a profound secrecy. Their principal town was fortified, in order to afford protection to their women and children; and the warriors of the different tribes, to the number of twelve hundred, met here and matured their murderous design. At length, when they thought they had a fit opportunity they dispersed into small parties, and, entering the houses of the planters, demanded something to eat. They appeared to be displeased with the provisions that were set before them, and immediately began to murder the men, women, and children without distinction. In the neighbourhood of Roanoke one hundred and thirty-seven settlers were murdered. A few who had hid themselves in the woods, escaped and carried the tidings into the neighbouring settlements, thus preventing the total destruction of the colony.

Active measure were instantly taken against the Indians. The Assembly voted four thousand pounds towards the war. A body of six hundred men, under Colonel Barnwell, marched against the savages. They were joined by parties of Indians belonging to several tribes in the neighbourhood, so that the whole force consisted of upwards of a thousand men. The army had to march through a wilderness in which no provisions could be procured, and it was reduced to great straits; but, finally, came up with the enemy, and defeated them with great slaughter. In the first battle about three hundred of the Indians were killed and one hundred

taken prisoners. The Indians then retreated to the town, which they had fortified. Here they were surrounded, a large number were killed, and the rest were compelled to sue for peace. This was granted them. In this expedition, it was calculated that a thousand Tuscaroras were either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. The survivors abandoned their country, emigrated to the north, and joined the Five Nations, thus making this confederacy consist of six tribes.

In 1715, South Carolina was visited with an Indian war so formidable as to threaten its extirpation. The Yemassees were the chief instruments in promoting this conspiracy against the English. They had hitherto been on terms of great intimacy and friendship with the Carolinians. For about a year before the war broke out, it was observed that the Indians went frequently to St. Augustine, and returned loaded with presents.

About a week before the commencement of hostilities, an Indian warrior attached to the family of one Fraser, a trader, told his wife that the English were all heretics, and would go to hell when they died, and that the Yemassees would go there, too, if they did not expel the English; that the governor of St. Augustine was their king, and that a bloody war would soon break out with the English; he afterwards advised Fraser to fly, which he did, and escaped to Charleston with his family and effects.

On the 15th of April, 1715, about day-break, the English traders at Pocotaligo were alarmed by the cries of war. The Indians massacred above ninety persons in that place and the neighbouring plantations. A man who escaped fled to Port Royal and alarmed the town. The inhabitants went on board the shipping and sailed to Charleston. It was soon found that all the Indian tribes from Florida to Cape Fear river had joined in this conspiracy to massacre and extirpate the English. The planters from every quarter fled to Charleston. The governor proclaimed martial law, and laid an embargo on all ships, besides obtaining permission from the Assembly to impress men, arms, and ammunition

into the service. Robert Daniel was appointed deputy-governor, whilst Governor Craven marched at the head of the militia against the largest body of savages.

In the mean time, Thomas Barker, with a company of ninety horsemen, proceeded against the enemy. But, by the treachery of an Indian guide, he was led into an ambush of the enemy. Barker and several others were killed at the first fire, and the remainder retreated. After this, a party of four hundred Indians advanced to Goose-creek. At this place a small fort had been erected, containing seventy white men and forty negroes. On the approach of the Indians, the garrison became discouraged, and agreed to terms of peace; and having admitted the enemy within their works, the whole garrison was barbarously murdered.

Governor Craven now advanced cautiously against the enemy. He was well acquainted with the Indian mode of fighting, and therefore took every precaution against a sudden surprise. He knew that the fate of South Carolina depended on the issue of the contest; and his men had no alternative but to conquer or suffer a painful death.

He marched forward without opposition till he arrived at Saltcatchers, where the enemy had pitched his camp. Here a severe contest took place. The Indians, firing from behind trees and other places of concealment, killed a great number of the English. They were several times compelled to retreat, but again returned to the charge with redoubled fury. The governor finally succeeded in driving them from their coverts, and kept his troops at their heels till they had crossed Savannah river.

This victory raised the inhabitants of South Carolina from the greatest despondency to the highest pitch of joy. The expedition not only disconcerted the greatest conspiracy ever formed against the colony, but also placed it in a state of greater security than it had hitherto enjoyed.

The Yemassees, after their defeat, retreated to St. Augustine, where they were received with the firing of

guns, the ringing of bells, and every other demonstration of welcome. They were furnished by the Spaniards with arms, and again began their depredations. Governor Craven, with a body of militia, meeting a party of these Indians near Stone Ferry, attacked and entirely defeated them. This was the last general attempt of the Yemassees against the settlers of South Carolina. A few years after it became a royal province; and the wise and prudent measures of the governor, Sir Francis Nicholson, contributed to restore harmony, so that for many years after the Yemassee war, the peace of the province was preserved without any considerable interruption.

When the French had been defeated in the war which led to the conquest of Canada, and compelled to abandon Fort Duquesne, retreating down the Ohio and Mississippi, they had the address to involve the Indians in a serious war with Carolina.

It was the Cherokees that the French, who had evacuated the fort and fled to their country, endeavoured to excite against the Carolinians. A quarrel occurred at this juncture which helped materially to fan the flame of dissatisfaction among them. The facts are as follows: It had always been the custom for the Indians and English colonists to seize the horses that ran wild in the woods. It happened that a party of Cherokees, returning from Fort Duquesne, seized some stray horses, in order that they might reach home the sooner. But it appears that the animals belonged to the whites, who, instead of taking legal means for redress, pursued the Indians, and killed twelve or fourteen of them. The Cherokees were enraged when they heard of this. The young men proposed to fall upon the border towns, and notwithstanding the arguments of the elder chiefs, the Cherokees destroyed and massacred the inhabitants of several settlements on the Carolina frontier.

The garrison of Fort Loudon was attacked several times when on excursions for game; so that it became necessary to keep within the fort.

Information reaching Governor Lyttleton of these

hostile acts, he made every preparation to invade the Cherokee villages. The Indians no sooner heard of these preparations than they sent thirty-two chiefs to make a treaty with the governor; but he refused to forego the war; and detaining the chiefs prisoners, he marched for Fort Prince George.*

When he reached the Congaree he received additional troops, which augmented his force to fourteen hundred men.

By this time their valour and ardour began to diminish; and when they arrived at Fort Prince George they became mutinous and ungovernable. Governor Lyttleton saw the necessity of a peace, and accordingly invited Attakullakulla, the wisest of the Cherokees, to a conference, and concluded a treaty; but it was never regarded by the Indians; for the treachery of detaining their chiefs was yet to be revenged. Occonostota, one of their chiefs, was the principal promoter of a war, and, indeed, very few were loath to attack the border settlements and, if possible, rescue their imprisoned friends. The opportunity now offered was in every way advantageous. The Carolinians were rejoicing in the peace, and nothing could have been more unexpected than hostility with the Cherokees at that moment.

*After the success of the French at Fort Duquesne, in 1755, the Indians conceived a high opinion of their valour; and the Cherokees were disposed to enter into alliance with them. Their chief warrior gave notice of this intention to Governor Glen, of South Carolina, who had the prudence and address to engage them in a treaty which was concluded at a place in their own country, two hundred miles from Charleston. He also obtained from them the cession of an immense tract of land, which occasioned the removal of the Indians to a greater distance from the English. Soon after this cession of lands, the governor built a fort about three hundred miles from Charleston, afterwards called *Fort Prince George*, which was situated on the banks of the Savannah river, and within gun-shot of an Indian town called Keowee. It contained barracks for one hundred men, and was designed for the defence of the western frontiers of Carolina. The Cherokees could, at this time, bring about three thousand men into the field; but were unprovided with arms or ammunition for their own defence.

The war was commenced by the Indians cutting off the soldiers at Fort Prince George whenever a chance presented itself. Fourteen were slain in this way, and it became necessary to keep the strictest guard. In fact, Fort Prince George was invested by Occonostota with his Cherokees. That chief at length became convinced that the place could not be taken but by stratagem. In order to effect this purpose he stationed his men in the thickets which surrounded the fort, and then dispatched a squaw to Captain Coytmore, inviting him to a conference on the river bank. The captain went with two lieutenants. In the midst of the conference, the chief made a signal, and the Indians firing, killed the captain and wounded the two officers. They however reached the fort, and ordered the thirty-two hostages to be put in irons. While the soldiers were executing their orders the Indians stabbed one with a knife. The soldiers, exasperated to the greatest pitch, fell upon them and massacred the whole. This act exasperated the Indians to frenzy, and preparations were made on both sides for a bloody struggle. Scarcely any one of the Cherokees but had a friend among the slaughtered chiefs. Revenge being the uppermost object with them now, they fell upon the border villages and committed the most unparalleled cruelties.

In this extremity a messenger was sent to Lord Amherst for aid, who dispatched Colonel Montgomery with two regiments to South Carolina.

Bull, who succeeded Lyttleton, exerted himself strenuously to raise soldiers; he put the forts into better order, and placed stronger garrisons in them. As soon as Montgomery reached Carolina, in April, 1760, the provincials joined him, and, in a short time, he was on his way for the Cherokee country. His first attempt was to surprise Estatoe. On his way thither he surprised a little village, and put every inhabitant to the sword. The Indians at Estatoe having, by this time, received notice of his approach, fled; and when the troops arrived, they found nothing but the empty huts, which, with the flourishing crops around, were destroy-

ed. He then advanced to the lower towns, where sixty Indians were killed and forty taken prisoners. The troops next marched to the relief of Fort Prince George, which was closely invested by the Indians. The savages being dispersed, Montgomery determined to rest his troops for a while. In the meantime offers of peace had been made to the Middle village of the Cherokees, but they had been rejected.

Colonel Montgomery, therefore, found it necessary to go into the Cherokee country again. On his way to Etchoe, the nearest town, he was attacked, and a desperate battle ensued. The Indians fought with the greatest bravery in the defence of their town; but they were at length compelled to fly. The English had ninety-six killed and wounded. The victory rendered it useless to proceed, and the troops returned to Fort Prince George.

The time allotted for the stay of Montgomery in Carolina now expired, and he prepared to embark for New York with his two regiments, but at the solicitation of the governor he left Major Frederick Hamilton with four companies.

In the meantime Fort Loudon had been compelled to surrender from the scarcity of provisions, and it received the most honourable terms from the Cherokees. But, as the garrison was on its march homeward, they were attacked by the Indians and nearly all cut to pieces. Encouraged at this success, the Indians were induced to attempt the capture of Fort Prince George.

In the midst of their preparations they were told that one of their prisoners, Captain Stuart, had escaped, and knowing that he would apprise the people at the fort of their intention, they gave up the project.

Stuart, the officer who escaped, informed Governor Bull of their design upon Fort Prince George, and advised him to provide for its defence. The governor strengthened the garrison, and sent word to the Indians that if they attacked the fort they would be destroyed by the gunpowder that was buried around the walls. Presents were also sent to the Indians to induce them to release

their white prisoners. The Cherokees set them free, and in a short time the worn-out captives returned to their homes.

The people, at length, thought that the Indians would come to terms, but they were sadly disappointed; for, instigated by a Frenchman, they recommenced the war. Application was again made to Lord Amherst, who sent Lieuenant-Colonel Grant with a Highland regiment. Grant arrived at Charleston early in 1761, but was prevented from beginning operations on account of a sickness which broke out among the troops; but by the kind nursing of the Charleston people they nearly all recovered. A regiment of provincials having joined the Highlanders, the march commenced. The army, including Indian allies, amounted to two thousand six hundred. Every precaution was taken to guard against surprise. The march of Grant's army lay through the same valley where Montgomery had defeated the Cherokees the previous year. As he entered this pass, the Cherokees commenced an assault. A battle was thus begun which terminated in favour of the Carolinians, who, having sunk the dead in the river, proceeded to Etchoe, which place was reduced to ashes. After staying a long while in the Cherokee country, Colonel Grant returned to Fort Prince George.

A few days after his return to the fort, the Indians sued for peace, which was granted; and thus ended a war which destroyed entirely the French power in North America.



CHAPTER XIV.

CRESAP'S WAR.



LOGAN, the celebrated Mingo chief, was the son of Shikellima, chief of the Cayugas. He is said to have been named from Dr. James Logan, who was much beloved by his father. Logan bore a high character for magnanimity and the other qualities that distinguish a great man. He was not at all concerned in the wars of 1760; but in 1774 he was provoked to fierce hostility against the whites by a series of unprovoked aggressions. The Indians, it appears, had robbed some whites who contemplated a settlement on the Ohio river. The settlers immediately collected at Wheeling Creek, and one proposed to go after the Indians and kill them. Accordingly Captain Michael Cresap was sent with a party in pursuit of them, and two Indians were killed. Cresap the same day fell upon a party of unoffending Indians, and slew several of them. Among these were some of Logan's relations.

Another murder of still more horrid character was committed soon after, by David Greathouse and one Tomlinson. Hearing that a party of Indians was encamped on the banks of the Ohio, opposite to the place where they lived, about thirty miles above Wheeling, they collected a considerable body of men, and invited

the Indians to come over the river and drink rum with them, and having succeeded in getting them intoxicated, they murdered all of the party but one. Among the slain were a brother and sister of Logan. The remaining Indians on the other side of the river, hearing the firing and coming to the relief of their friends, were fired upon, and many of them killed. The rest retreated. This took place on the 24th of May, 1774.

These aggressions of the whites led to an immediate war, which was prosecuted on the part of the Indians with their usual cruelty, which spared no age nor sex. By the exertions of the injured Logan, and the chiefs under his influence, the Shawanese, Mingoes, Delawares, Wyandots, and Cayugas, were united in hostilities against the Virginians. The celebrated chief, Cornstalk, was among the most conspicuous of their leaders.

On the 12th of July, 1774, Logan, accompanied by eight warriors, made an unexpected attack upon some inhabitants upon the Muskingum, in which one man was killed and two captured, one of whom, Robinson, was saved from the torture by Logan, and adopted as his secretary.

The Virginia legislature being in session when the news of the commencement of hostilities arrived, Governor Dunmore ordered a levy of three thousand men. Half of these troops were to march to the mouth of the Great Kanhawa, under General Andrew Lewis; and the remainder, with the governor in person, were to proceed to a higher point on the Ohio, in order to attack the Indian settlements in the rear. He was then to form a junction with Lewis at Point Pleasant. General Lewis, with a force of one thousand one hundred men, commenced his march from Camp Union through the wilderness, on the 11th of September, and arrived at Point Pleasant (one hundred and sixty miles) on the 30th. Here he waited until the 10th of October for the arrival of Governor Dunmore, who, it is now believed, did not intend to join him until the fighting was over. On the morning of the 10th a hunter, just es-

caped from the Indian rifles, came into the camp and gave notice of the approach of an immense body of Indians. General Lewis immediately made arrangements for the battle, by ordering his brother, Colonel Charles Lewis, to march with his own regiment, and another under Colonel Fleming, to reconnoitre the enemy, while he should prepare the main body to support them. At four hundred yards from the camp they were met by the enemy just after sunrise, and the battle commenced, after the Indian manner, each party availing themselves of the trees for shelter and defence. Colonel Lewis was soon shot down, and the advanced regiments were on the retreat, when Colonel Field's regiment coming to their support, they rallied, and drove the Indians behind a rough breastwork of logs and bush which they had erected, and which being extended from river to river, so as to inclose the Virginians on the point, would have insured their utter destruction in case of a defeat.

The ground was obstinately defended by the Indians till near the close of the day. Logan, Cornstalk, Red Eagle, and other distinguished chiefs led them on in successive charges upon the Virginians, until Colonels Field and Fleming having both fallen, and General Lewis finding his ranks fearfully thinned by each charge of the enemy, resolved to throw a body of troops into their rear. Captain Isaac Shelby, afterwards so celebrated, together with Captains Matthews and Stewart, being detached with three companies for this purpose, arrived at the desired point, and fell upon the rear of the Indians with such fury as immediately to decide the fortune of the day. Supposing that a reinforcement had arrived, the Indians instantly gave way, and, crossing the Ohio, retreated to their towns on the Scioto. The loss of the Indians in this action could never be accurately determined, in consequence of the usual practice of carrying off and concealing their dead. Thirty-three were found dead, and many were known to have been thrown into the river by the Indians themselves. The Virginians lost fifty-five killed and eighty-seven wounded.

The Indians now sued for peace. Logan haughtily declined to appear among the supplicants. He did not, however, refuse his assent to the treaty concluded by Cornstalk and the other chiefs; but, on giving it, he delivered that remarkable speech which has rendered his name one of the most celebrated in the Indian annals. It is reported by Mr. Jefferson, in his Notes on Virginia, as we have given it in the Introduction to this work. Our artist, by a pardonable license, has represented the speech which was actually delivered to an emissary of Governor Dunmore, as having been delivered in his presence. (*See Engraving on the opposite page.*)

Logan did not long survive the events of the war in which he played so conspicuous a part. He was soon after barbarously murdered as he was on his way home from Detroit. Cornstalk, his compatriot, was murdered with his son Ellinipnis, while on a friendly mission to the fort at Point Pleasant in 1777. He had come thither to apprise the Americans of the intention of his tribe, the Shawanese, to join the British. He was detained there and visited by his son; and some whites having been fired upon, and one man killed by Indians in the neighbourhood of the fort, Cornstalk and his son were both murdered in cold blood, by way of retaliation.



CHAPTER XV

INDIAN WARS OF THE REVOLUTION.



MANY circumstances tended to change the aspects and relations of Indian warfare at the commencement of the Revolutionary war.

In the war which began in 1755, between the French and English, great attention was paid by both parties to the different tribes of Indians. The French succeeded in gaining the friendship of the greater number; but the success of the English in the latter part of the war, turned the affections of the Indians in their favour. In the revolutionary war, the friendship of the Indians became a matter of much importance to both parties. And as terror was one of the expedients by which Great Britain endeavoured to reduce her colonies to submission, the greatest care was taken to gain the affections of the Indians, and to induce them to join the British standard. In doing this the English had far greater advantages than the colonists. The expulsion of the French from Canada, which had taken place only about thirteen years before, had given the Indians a high opinion of the superiority and courage of the British troops. They also had the means of supplying the wants of the Indians, by articles which they received from England; while congress, by the non-importation

act, had debarred the colonists from importing those goods which were necessary for the Indian trade.

Besides this, the English had another great advantage over the colonists. Since the peace of 1763, nearly all the transactions with the Indians had been carried on by agents appointed and paid by the king of Great Britain. These, as may well be supposed, used all their influence with the savages in favour of the mother country, and against the colonies. They insinuated into the minds of the Indians that the king was their natural ruler and protector; and that, should the colonists succeed in the war in which they were then engaged, their next step would be the extirpation of their red neighbours. By such representations, as well as by a profusion of presents, the Indians were nearly all pre-engaged in favour of the English.

Meanwhile the Americans were not unmindful of their interests in this quarter. They appointed commissioners to explain to the Indians the nature and cause of the quarrel; and to gain their favour by means of treaties and presents. They endeavoured to persuade them that the war in no way concerned them; and that they, therefore, should not take part with either side. Congress also resolved to distribute goods to the amount of nearly two thousand dollars among them; but this resolution was never executed. All the exertions of congress were insufficient for the security of the western frontiers. In almost every period of the war, the Indians took part with the English against the Americans. South Carolina was one of the first states that felt the effects of the British influence over the minds of the Indians. The Creeks and Cherokees inhabited lands not far distant from the western settlements of this state. All intercourse with these tribes had, for several years prior to the beginning of the war, been carried on by John Stuart, an officer of the crown, who was very zealous in the British cause. A plan was formed by him to land a force of English soldiers in Florida, and in conjunction with the tories and Indians, make an attack on the western settlements of the southern states;

whilst at the same time a British fleet and army should invade them on the coast. This scheme was discovered by the capture of Moses Kirkland, one of the principal agents employed in its execution, whilst he was on his way with dispatches to General Gage. The information thus received enabled the Americans to take such steps as in a degree frustrated the scheme; yet so nearly had this plan succeeded, that the Cherokee Indians began their massacres at the same time that a British fleet attacked the fort on Sullivan's island. But the defeat of the fleet, and the uninterrupted tranquillity which succeeded the unsuccessful attempts of the British, in 1776, enabled the Americans to carry the war into the territories of the Indians. This they did, not so much to punish the past, but to prevent them from committing similar outrages in future.

A considerable force was at the same time sent by Virginia, North Carolina, and some of the other southern states, which traversed the Indian country, burnt their villages, and destroyed their crops. About five hundred of the Indians belonging to the Cherokee tribe were obliged, from a scarcity of provisions, to enter Florida, and seek protection from the British. Here they were fed and clothed for a considerable time; but they finally sued for peace in the most submissive manner; and soon after a treaty was made, by which they ceded a considerable portion of their land in South Carolina. This expedition so intimidated the Cherokees, that for several years they attempted no further hostilities.

But the case of those Indians who dwelt near the British posts, and on the frontiers of the northern and middle states, was very different. The presents which they were continually receiving from the English, and the influence of a great number of tories who had taken refuge among them, so enlisted them in favour of the British government, that they were continually making hostile excursions against the Americans. Their principal leaders in these expeditions were Colonel John Butler, a Connecticut tory, and Brant, a half-blood In-

dian, the principal chief of the Six Nations. The remote situation of the settlements, and the Indians' knowledge of the country, enabled them to send out parties which did a great deal of mischief.

Both Brant and Butler were employed in the famous expedition of Colonel St. Leger against Fort Schuyler or Stanwix. When Burgoyne was advancing upon Crown Point, in the invasion which terminated in his capture, he detached Colonel St. Leger with a body of light troops, Canadians, tories, and Indians, amounting to eight hundred men, by the way of Lake Oswego and the Mohawk river, to make a diversion in that quarter, and to join him when he advanced to the Hudson.

On the 2d of August, St. Leger approached Fort Schuyler, a log fortification, situated on rising ground near the source of the Mohawk river, and garrisoned by about six hundred continentals under the command of Colonel Gansevoort. Next day he invested the place with an army of sixteen or seventeen hundred men, nearly one-half of whom were Indians, and the rest British, Germans, Canadians, and tories. On being summoned to surrender, Gansevoort answered that he would defend the place to the last.

On the approach of St. Leger to Fort Schuyler, general Herkimer, who commanded the militia of Tryon county, assembled about seven hundred of them and marched to the assistance of the garrison. On the forenoon of the 6th of August, a messenger from Herkimer found means to enter the fort, and gave notice that he was only eight miles distant, and intended that day to force a passage into the fort and join the garrison. Gansevoort resolved to aid the attempt by a vigorous sally, and appointed Colonel Willet with upwards of two hundred men to that service.

St. Leger received information of the approach of Herkimer, and placed a large body of regulars and Indians in ambush on the road by which he was to advance. Herkimer fell into the snare. The first notice which he received of the presence of an enemy was from a heavy discharge of musketry on his troops, which

was instantly followed by the war-whoop of the Indians, who attacked the militia with their tomahawks. Though disconcerted by the suddenness of the attack, many of the militia behaved with spirit, and a scene of unutterable confusion and carnage ensued. The royal troops and the militia became so closely crowded together that they had not room to use fire-arms, but pushed and pulled each other, and, using their daggers, fell pierced by mutual wounds. Some of the militia fled at the first onset, others made their escape afterwards; about one hundred of them retreated to a rising ground, where they bravely defended themselves, till Sir John Johnstone, who commanded the ambuscade, found it necessary to call off his men for the defence of their own camp. In the absence of the party against Herkimer, Colonel Willet made a successful sally, killed a number of the enemy, destroyed their provisions, carried off some spoil, and returned to the fort without the loss of a man.

The loss of Herkimer's party was computed to amount to four hundred men: the general himself was among the slain. Many of the most active political characters in that part of the country were killed, wounded, or made prisoners; so that St. Leger was secured from any further trouble from the militia. He now once more summoned the fort to surrender, but again met with a steady refusal.

General Schuyler, deeming it a matter of importance to prevent the junction of St. Leger with General Burgoyne, dispatched Arnold with a considerable body of regular troops to relieve Fort Schuyler. Arnold apprehended an American of some wealth and influence, who, he believed, had been acting the part of a traitor, but promised to spare his life and fortune on condition of his going into the British camp before Fort Schuyler, and alarming the Indians and others by magnifying the force which was marching against them. This the person undertook and executed. Some Indians, who were friendly to the Americans, communicated similar information, and even spread a report of the total defeat of

General Burgoyne's army, founded, probably, on the celebrated victory of General Stark at Bennington.

Fort Schuyler was better constructed, and defended with more courage than St. Leger had expected; and his light artillery made little impression on it. His Indians, who liked better to take scalps and plunder than to besiege fortresses, became very unmanageable. The loss which they had sustained in the encounters with Herkimer and Willet deeply affected them: they had expected to be witnesses of the triumphs of the British, and to share with them the plunder. Hard service and little reward caused bitter disappointment; and when they heard that a strong detachment of continentals was marching against them, they resolved to seek safety in flight. St. Leger employed every argument and artifice to detain them, but in vain; part of them went off, and all the rest threatened to follow if the siege were persevered in. Therefore, on the 22d of August, St. Leger raised the siege, and retreated with circumstances indicating great alarm: the tents were left standing, the artillery was abandoned, and a great part of the baggage, ammunition, and provisions fell into the hands of the garrison, a detachment from which pursued the retreating enemy. St. Leger retired to Montreal, whence he proceeded to Ticonderoga, with the intention of joining General Burgoyne.

General Arnold reached Fort Schuyler two days after the retreat of the besiegers; but, finding no occasion for his services, he soon returned to camp. The successful defence of Fort Schuyler powerfully co-operated with the defeat of the royal troops at Bennington in raising the spirits and invigorating the activity of the Americans. The loyalists became timid; the wavering began to doubt the success of the royal arms; and the great body of the people was convinced that nothing but steady exertion on their part was necessary to ruin that army which a short time before had appeared irresistible.

General Schuyler, who, notwithstanding all his meritorious services, was no favourite with Congress, at this

critical period of the campaign, when by unwearied exertion he had brought the northern army into a respectable condition, and had the fair prospect of gaining the laurels due to his industry and talents, was superseded, and General Gates appointed to the command of the army. General Schuyler keenly felt the indignity offered him, by depriving him of the command at that critical juncture; but he faithfully discharged his duty till the arrival in camp of his successor, on the 19th of August. The late events had greatly changed the aspect of affairs; and General Gates found the army in a far more promising state than he had expected. The harvest was over; and many of the militia, who had been kept at home by it, were arriving in camp, where there was now a respectable force, much encouraged by the recent success of the American arms.

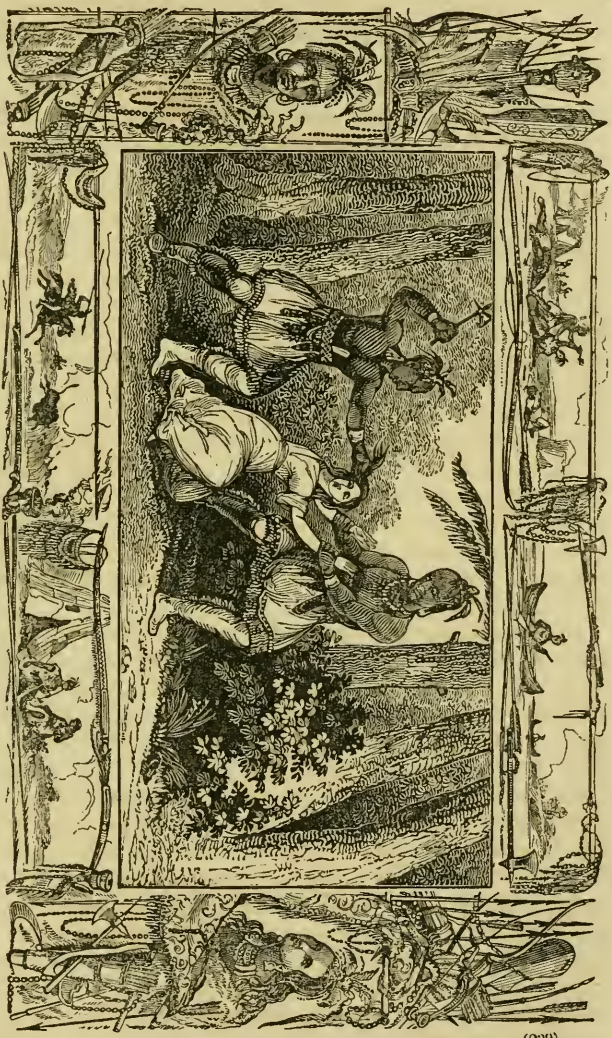
Soon after General Gates entered on the command of the northern army, an epistolary correspondence was opened between him and General Burgoyne, not of the most pleasant or courteous kind. On the 30th of August, the British general complained of the harsh treatment experienced by the loyalists who had been made prisoners at Bennington, and hinted at retaliation. On the 2d of September the American general answered his letter, and recriminated by expatiating on the horrid atrocities perpetrated by the Indians who accompanied the armies of General Burgoyne and Colonel St. Leger, and imputed them to General Burgoyne. One barbarous act committed by an Indian attached to General Burgoyne's army, although it involved only a case of individual suffering, yet being described in the American newspapers with every circumstance that could excite the imagination and inflame the feelings, made a deep impression on the public mind, and roused indignation to the highest pitch.

Mr. Jones, an officer of the British army, had gained the affections of Miss Macrea, a lovely young lady of amiable character and spotless reputation, daughter of a gentleman attached to the royal cause, residing near Fort Edward; and they had agreed to be married. In the

course of service, the officer was removed to some distance from his bride, and became anxious for her safety and desirous of her company. He engaged some Indians, of two different tribes, to bring her to camp, and promised a keg of rum to the person who should deliver her safe to him. She dressed to meet her bridegroom, and accompanied her Indian conductors; but by the way, the two chiefs, each being desirous of receiving the promised reward, disputed which of them should deliver her to her lover. The dispute rose to a quarrel; and, according to their usual method of disposing of a disputed prisoner, one of them instantly cleft the head of the lady with his tomahawk. (*See Engraving on the opposite page.*) This simple story, sufficiently tragical and affecting in itself, was blazoned in the American newspapers with every amplification that could excite the imagination or touch the heart; and contributed in no slight degree to embitter the minds of the people against those who could degrade themselves by the aid of such allies. The impulse given to the public mind by such atrocities more than counterbalanced any advantages which the British derived from the assistance of the Indians.

It is unnecessary for us to dwell longer on the atrocities perpetrated by the Indian allies of Burgoyne. The result of his campaign belongs to the general history of the United States. We pass now to the dreadful massacre at Wyoming, which took place in the following year, first noting an exploit of Brant.

In the spring of 1778, General Lafayette being at Johnstown, was waited upon by Colonel Campbell and Mr. Wilson, who represented the exposed situation of Cherry Valley. Lafayette directed a fort to be built there, which was accordingly done, and the fort became a retreat for the surrounding settlers when danger threatened. It became an object with Brant to destroy this little fortress. He accordingly lay in ambush near the place with a party, but was deterred from his first intention of attack by mistaking a party of boys, playing at soldiers, for a body of militia. He shot Lieutenant



Wormwood, however, and Captain Peter Sitz, who passed near the ambush with dispatches.

Wyoming, a new and flourishing settlement on the eastern branch of the Susquehannah, was destroyed in July, 1778, by a party of Indians and tories. The territory in which this town was situated, was claimed by two states, Pennsylvania and Connecticut; and thus the security of the inhabitants was destroyed. From the collision of contradictory claims, founded on royal charters, the laws of neither were enforced. In this settlement, so remote from any others, where the laws were but feebly enforced, the tories were under less control, and could meet together without much danger of being discovered. Twenty-seven of them were, however, taken and sent to Hartford for trial; but they were afterwards set at liberty. These, with others of the same description, instigated by the desire of revenge against the Americans, from whom they had suffered banishment and loss of property, joined the Indians, and attacked the Wyoming settlement; their combined forces were estimated at about eleven hundred, of whom two hundred were tories. The whole were commanded by Colonel John Butler, of whom we have already spoken. One of the forts, being very weak, surrendered to his party; but a part of the garrison had previously retired to the fort at Kingston, called Forty-Fort. Colonel John Butler soon appeared and demanded the surrender of this place. Its commander, Colonel Zebulon Butler, a continental officer, sent him a message, proposing a conference at the bridge without the fort. This being agreed to, the commander and some other officers repaired to the place appointed; they were followed by nearly the whole garrison. Not finding any of the enemy there, the Wyoming people advanced, supposing that the enemy were retiring before them. They proceeded forward till they were about three miles from the fort; they then saw a few of the enemy, whom they fired at; but they presently found that they had fallen into an ambuscade. They were now attacked by the whole force of tories and Indians; but fought gallantly

till their retreat to the fort was entirely cut off. They then fell into the greatest confusion. Out of four hundred and seventeen who had left the fort, three hundred and sixty were instantly slain. No quarter was given. Colonel John Butler again demanded the surrender of the fort. This was agreed under articles of capitulation, which secured to the people in the fort their effects. The garrison, consisting of thirty men with two hundred women, were allowed to cross the river and retreat through the words to Northampton county. During this retreat they suffered many hardships; several women were taken ill in the woods, and a scarcity of provisions prevailed among them. The houses and barns of the settlers were all burned; and their live-stock either killed or carried away. (*See Engraving on the opposite page.*)

In the November following, a massacre of the same relentless character was perpetrated by Brant and his tory friends in Cherry Valley. With a force of seven hundred, of whom five hundred were his own warriors, Brant, accompanied by Walter Butler, son of Colonel John Butler, approached the fort on the 9th of November, 1778. Colonel Ichabod Alden was in command at the fort; and he had disregarded certain intimations of danger, and discouraged the inhabitants from taking shelter in the fort, offering to keep scouts out to give the alarm. His scouts built a fire and lay down to sleep. They were of course captured by Brant, and the surprise was complete. The place was invested in all parts at once, and the inhabitants were murdered with every circumstance of savage barbarity. Between thirty and forty prisoners were carried off. Colonel Alden paid for his carelessness with his life. The fort was vigorously assailed, but being defended by two hundred soldiers, escaped the fate of the village.

Walter Butler, whose cruelty and callousness were conspicuous in this massacre, was captured in an affair at Johnstown in 1781. On his crying for quarter, an Oneida Indian, in the American service, screamed out "Sher-



ry Valley!" and, at the same moment, clove his skull with a tomahawk.

A short time previous to this affair, Colonel Butler, with a party of Pennsylvania troops, proceeded on an expedition against the Indians. Having, on the 1st of October, 1778, reached the head of the Delaware, he marched down that river for two days, and then struck across the country to the Susquehannah. They burnt the Indian villages both in that quarter and the other settlements; but the inhabitants escaped. Great difficulties were encountered by Colonel Butler's men in this expedition. Their provisions were carried on their backs, and, thus loaded, they were frequently obliged to wade through creeks and rivers. When their march was over, they were compelled to endure damp nights and heavy rains without having any thing to protect them. Yet the expedition was successful, and in sixteen days returned. About a month after Butler's return, a large body of tories and Indians made an attack on Fort Alden in Cherry Valley, within the state of New York. The fort was not taken; but the enemy succeeded in killing about forty persons, among whom were Colonel Arden and ten of his soldiers.

An expedition, under Henry Hamilton, lieutenant-governor of Detroit, was entirely broken up through the bold and spirited conduct of Colonel Clarke. This expedition was intended to proceed against the back settlers of Virginia, and a great many Indians were engaged in it. But Hamilton, posting himself at St. Vincennes for the winter, that he might have every thing ready for invading the American settlements as soon as the season would permit, had weakened himself by sending parties of Indians against the frontier settlers. Clarke hearing of this determined to attack him. After surmounting a great many obstacles, he suddenly appeared before St. Vincennes with one hundred and thirty men.

The inhabitants of the town immediately surrendered to the Americans, and assisted them in taking the fort, (February 23d, 1779.) The next day Hamilton and the garrison surrendered. Clarke, on hearing that a

convoy of British goods was on its way from Detroit, detached a party of sixty men, which succeeded in making a prize of the whole. By this spirited attack, Colonel Hamilton's expedition was nipped in the bud.

Clarke now transmitted some letters and papers to the council of Virginia, relating to Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, Philip de Jean, Justice of Peace for Detroit, and William Lamothe, captain of volunteers, whom he had made prisoners. This board reported that Hamilton had incited the Indians to take up arms against the United States, and given them rewards for the scalps they had taken; that de Jean was the willing instrument of Hamilton; and that Lamothe was captain of a band of tories and Indians, whom he had ordered to spare neither women nor children. The board, therefore, considered them as fit objects for retaliation, and advised the governor to put them in irons; confine them in a dungeon of the public jail; debar them from the use of pen, ink, and paper; and permit them to converse with no one except the keeper.

On the 19th of April, Colonel Van Shaick, with a party of fifty-five men, destroyed the whole of the Onondaga settlements, consisting of about fifty houses, together with a large quantity of provisions. In this expedition twelve Indians were killed, and thirty-four taken prisoners; while not a single man of the Americans was lost.

In all these contests the greatest cruelties were practised by the Indians upon their prisoners. The American refugees who had fled to the west, took part with the savages, and by their knowledge of the settlements, and their resources, did the Americans a great deal of harm. Some of them were even more barbarous than the Indians themselves; they often assumed the dress of the savages; and, under the name of loyalty, perpetrated cruelties that had heretofore been unheard of.

In the expeditions that had been made against the Indians, a great many of them had been destroyed; yet those who remained were not intimidated, and still continued their ravages. It was, therefore, resolved, in the

year 1779, to carry a decisive expedition into the Indian country. A considerable body of continental troops was selected for this purpose, and placed under the command of General Sullivan.

The Six Nations, or Mohawks, were the objects of this expedition. They had promised the Americans to remain neutral in the war. But overcome by the presents and promises of the British agents, they all, with the exception of the Oneidas, took up arms against the United States. From their vicinity to the American settlements, and their knowledge of the country, they were enabled to do much harm.

The Indians, on hearing of the expedition projected against them, immediately took measures to resist it. They posted themselves on an advantageous piece of ground, and fortified it in the best manner. On the 29th of August, General Sullivan appeared before their works, and immediately began the attack. The Indians resisted for about two hours, and then fled without making any attempt to rally. Their consternation was so great that they had no idea of making any further resistance; and as General Sullivan advanced into the country, they retreated before him. The Americans were so irritated against them, that officers and men laboured equally in the destruction of their villages and cornfields; so that when the expedition was ended, there was scarcely a house left standing, or an Indian to be seen. The savages were thus taught that they could not commit their depredations with impunity; and their ardour for making incursions into the American settlements was damped.

Meanwhile several detached parties of Indians had succeeded in distressing different settlements in the United States. A party of Indians and tories, eighty-seven in number, under the command of Brant, attacked the Minnisink settlement, on the 23d of July; and burnt several houses and barns. A party of one hundred and forty-nine militia pursued them, but they proceeded with so little caution that they were surprised and defeated. About the same time an expedition was

undertaken by General Williamson and Colonel Pickens, both of South Carolina, into the Indian country, August 22d, 1779; they burnt the corn of eight towns; and insisted on the Indians leaving the lands which they there occupied, and removing farther into the country.

In the same month, Colonel Broadhead left Pittsburg with six hundred men, and proceeded against the Seneca and Mingo Indians; he was gone more than a month, and destroyed several Indian huts, besides five hundred acres of corn.

The state of New York continued to suffer from incursions of tories and Indians. They destroyed nearly the whole town of Canajoharie, about fifty-six miles from Albany. They also laid waste the country about the Mohawk river, and killed several persons.

The Cherokees made an incursion into the district of Ninety-Six, in South Carolina, where they massacred several families, and burned a number of houses. In 1781, General Pickens, with about four hundred mounted men, proceeded into their country. In a fortnight he destroyed thirteen towns, and killed upwards of forty Indians, besides taking several prisoners. The vanquished Cherokees sued for peace, but it was not granted them till they promised to deliver to the Americans all persons who might instigate them to take up arms in favour of the British.

In the latter part of the war, in 1782, a party of civilized Indians, settled near the Muskingum, were barbarously massacred. They abhorred war, and advised the other Indians to remain neutral. This so provoked the hostile Indians, that they carried them away from the Muskingum to Sandusky Creek. In the fall of the year, finding corn to be scarce, the civilized Indians obtained permission to visit their old habitations, and collect the crops they had planted before their removal.

When the people near the Monongahela heard that a body of Indians were at the Moravian towns on the Muskingum, a party of one hundred and sixty men crossed the Ohio, and without inquiring who they were

put ninety of them to death. These Indians submitted to their hard fate without attempting to destroy their murderers, who, calling themselves Christians, were more worthy the name of savages than the persons whom they had so barbarously murdered.

Soon after this massacre, a party of Americans set out to destroy the Indian towns near Sandusky; but the Delawares and some other Indians opposed them. A battle ensued. The Indians were victorious; several Americans were killed and some taken prisoners. Among the latter was Colonel Crawford. He was sacrificed to the manes of those Indians who had been murdered at the Moravian towns; and the rest were put to death with the tomahawk.

Throughout the whole of this war, not only men were massacred, but women and children were often put to death in the most horrible manner. Whole settlements were involved in promiscuous desolation. Each was made a scourge to the other; and the unavoidable calamities of war were rendered doubly distressing by the dispersion of families, the breaking up of settlements, and an addition of savage cruelties, to the most extensive devastation of those things which conduce to the comfort of human life.



CHAPTER XVI.

NORTH-WESTERN WAR.

(DURING WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION.)



REMOTE from the seats of commerce and civilization, the hardy pioneers of the western country, after the termination of the revolutionary struggle, had still a bloody war to sustain with the savages in their neighbourhood. When peace was concluded with Great Britain, in 1783, many of the Indian tribes on the north-western frontier, who had been in alliance with that power, refused to lay down the hatchet, and continued their merciless ravages on the border settlers.

Between 1783 and 1790, according to estimates apparently correct, no less than one thousand five hundred men, women, and children, were killed or captured by the Indians upon the waters of the Ohio. More than two thousand horses were stolen from the inhabitants; an immense number of farms and plantations were desolated; boats passing on the river were constantly plundered, and their crews murdered; and property to an unknown amount was destroyed by the savage foe. Every effort which a humane policy could dictate had been made to restore peace by negotiation; but the

Indians were stimulated to these aggressions by the British agents, and supplied with arms and sheltered under the guns of the forts which Great Britain, in defiance of the stipulations of the treaty, still continued to hold within our territory; and they scornfully refused to listen to any terms of conciliation.

They still committed many ravages upon the western frontier, and the most horrible cruelties were perpetrated by them on the inhabitants. It finally was found necessary to reduce them by force of arms. An expedition was accordingly sent out in 1791, for the purpose of destroying the Indian settlements on the Scioto and Wabash. This expedition consisted of fourteen hundred and fifty men, under the command of General Harmar. Colonel Harden was dispatched by the commander with two hundred and ten militia and thirty regulars, for the purpose of bringing the Indians to action. His party was attacked by them about ten miles from Chillicothe, and, on the first fire, the militia fled. The regulars, however, maintained their ground; but they were overpowered by numbers, and only seven of them made their escape, leaving the remaining twenty-three dead on the field. The ardour of the army was damped by this disaster; but it marched forward and destroyed the towns on the Scioto. After this, Colonel Harden was again dispatched for the purpose of bringing the Indians to a general engagement; he was again met and defeated with a great loss, (one hundred and fifty men and twelve officers.) The survivors retreated to the main army.

The Indians, becoming emboldened by these successes, now committed greater ravages than before. The whole western frontier was in a state of alarm. Hardly a day passed without a report being heard of some one murdered or some village burnt; and next year (1791) the government of the United States determined to take some decisive measures. General Arthur St. Clair was accordingly appointed commander-in-chief of a large army, whose object was to destroy the Indian villages on the Miami, and to expel the savages from the country.

The army, consisting of about two thousand men, marched from Fort Washington (built on the site where Cincinnati now is) on the 7th of September, and advanced towards the Indian settlements. When they approached near the enemy, a body of the militia deserted; Major Hamtramck was detached to pursue them. The army was by this means reduced to fourteen hundred men; they, however, proceeded on their march, and on the 3d of November encamped on an elevated piece of ground about fifteen miles south of the Miami. The Indians shortly afterwards made an attack on the militia, who fled into the camp and caused confusion among the regulars. The enemy now improved the advantage they had gained. Sheltering themselves behind the trees and beneath the thick underwood, they poured in a destructive fire upon the Americans, while they themselves were scarcely ever to be seen.

General St. Clair was at this time suffering under a painful disease; but he delivered his orders with a perfect calmness and self-possession. Attempts were made to dislodge the enemy by the use of the bayonet, but without success. Meanwhile General Butler had been killed, and nearly all the artillery seized by the Indians. Another charge was made with the bayonet, and the artillery recovered. While the enemy were driven from one point, they poured a deadly fire upon the Americans from another. A great part of the army was now unable to continue the fight on account of their wounds, while a great many more had been killed.

St. Clair now saw that nothing could be done but to endeavour to save the remnant of the army. A retreat was therefore ordered; and the Indians pursued them for about four miles; and then returned to the camp to share the spoil. The vanquished troops fled to Fort Jefferson, left their wounded there, and then proceeded to Fort Washington.

The loss in this battle was very great. Thirty-eight officers were killed on the field, and five hundred and ninety-three non-commissioned officers and privates were either slain or missing. The number of Indians

engaged is not exactly known. It is supposed that there were about fifteen hundred; and their loss is believed to have been much less than that of the Americans. The leader of the Indians on this occasion, as well as in the defeat of General Harmar, was the Miami chief, Little Turtle, a very celebrated personage.

The English are supposed to have instigated the Indians to this engagement, and even to have led them on. But this matter has never been satisfactorily settled. The land for which the Indians fought had been the property of their forefathers for many preceding ages. Though they had ceded it to the United States, they still hankered after it, and finally determined to keep, at all hazards, the country where the bones of their ancestors were deposited, and where they drew their first breath. In the attempts to treat with them, which followed this defeat of St. Clair's, they insisted on the Ohio river being considered the boundary of their territory; i. e., they claimed the whole state of Ohio and all the country west of it, for themselves ostensibly, for the British really. Peace on such terms was out of the question.

The Indian war had now a very serious aspect. A bill was introduced into the House of Representatives directing three additional regiments of infantry, and a squadron of cavalry to be raised for three years, if not sooner discharged. This bill, after a great deal of discussion, was finally passed. By it, the military force of the United States was fixed at five thousand men. Several months elapsed before these could be raised. General Wayne was appointed commander-in-chief in place of General St. Clair, who had resigned. While preparations were in progress for another campaign, measures were taken to end the war in a pacific manner. Two envoys were sent into the Indian territory with offers of peace; but they were both murdered. It therefore became necessary again to attempt their defeat by force of arms.

General Wayne advanced as far as the ground on which St. Clair had been defeated, as it was too late in

the season to prosecute the objects of the expedition. He erected a fort there, which he called Fort Recovery; and spent the time in disciplining his troops. The Indians, expecting an attack upon their villages, had collected in force, with a determination to fight in their defence. On the 8th of August, Wayne reached the confluence of the Au Glaize and the Miamis of the lake, without opposition. He here threw up some works of defence. The Indians had collected at the British post on the Miamis of the lakes, (a British post, let it be remembered, on American ground,) at about thirty miles distance, to the number of two thousand men. Wayne now made one more effort for the attainment of peace without bloodshed; but was unsuccessful. He therefore cautiously proceeded down the Miami, and on the 20th of August a decisive engagement took place. The Indians were posted in a wood in front of the British works, which were inaccessible to the cavalry. They were drawn up in their lines so near as to support each other. Wayne ordered the front of his army to advance with their bayonets and drive the enemy from their hiding-places, and then to deliver their fire and press the fugitives so vigorously as not to allow them time to load. So rapid was the charge, and so entirely was the enemy broken by it, that in the course of one hour they were driven more than two miles through thick woods to within gunshot of the British fort. Little Turtle, who bore a conspicuous part in the fight, had opposed the other chiefs in council when they decided on giving battle. His opposition was silenced by another chief charging him with cowardice. The event showed his wisdom.

General Wayne remained for three days in front of the field of battle, laying waste the houses and cornfields of the Indians. He then returned to Au Glaize and destroyed the villages and corn within fifty miles of the river. General Wayne lost in the battle one hundred and seven men in killed and wounded. The loss of the Indians is unknown; but they were driven out of



MOHAWK WARRIOR. Page 354.

their country, and forts erected in it to prevent their return.

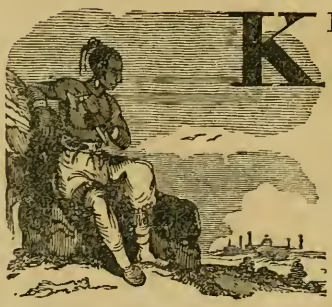
This decisive victory may be considered as closing the wars of the Indians at that period in the United States. The other Indian nations, which had shown some symptoms of hostility, now became quiet and peaceable. The power of the United States, to restrain and punish their enemies, became known among the Indian tribes, and had a decided influence on their conduct.

General Wayne soon after concluded treaties with the Indians on the north-west of the Ohio, by which peace was restored to the contending parties on terms satisfactory to both; and the western frontier, no longer at open war with the Indians, was soon peopled by emigrants from the eastern states, who came hither to seek their fortunes.



CHAPTER XVII.

TIPPECANOE WAR.



KENTUCKY, Ohio, and the other western states, were by no means entirely exempted from the horrors of Indian warfare, by the effects of General Wayne's decisive victory. British Influence was still exerted to embroil the frontier settlers of the west with the natives; and as the disputes respecting the orders in council, and the impressment of seamen, rendered the approach of war between Great Britain and the United States more probable, the outrages of the savages increased in frequency and boldness. But British influence was not the only exciting cause for Indian hostilities. There were two Indians, who appear to have emulated the fame of king Philip in their systematic and determined hostility to the United States. These were Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet. The following account of these personages is extracted from Judge Hall's excellent work, the Memoir of the public services of William Henry Harrison.

"In the year 1806, the celebrated impostor Ol-li-wa-chi-ca, the prophet, called by some writers, from what authority we know not, Els-kwa-taw-a, and his distinguished brother Tecumthe, began to disturb the frontier of Indiana, by a series of intrigues which produced the



TECUMSEH. Page 256

most calamitous results. Tecumthe had matured a plan, suggested to him, as is said, by the celebrated Red Jacket,—a plan which the great Pontiac had attempted in vain, and which Little Turtle, another lofty spirit, was supposed to have favoured—to unite all the western tribes in a league against the white people, under the vain expectation that the combined Indian force would be sufficient to destroy all the western settlements, and drive the whites out of the great valley of the Mississippi. To effect this object, that crafty and daring warrior traversed the whole frontier, visited the different tribes, appealed earnestly to their prejudices, stirred up the recollection of their wrongs, and exerted upon them the subtle diplomacy, and masterly eloquence, in both which he was so consummately skilled.

The two brothers, who were born at the same birth, differed widely in character, but were well fitted to act together in the prosecution of such an enterprise. The Indian name of the prophet signified literally '*a door opened*,' in allusion probably to the way of deliverance he was expected to point out to the red men; while the interpretation of the word Tecumthe is, '*a panther crouching*.'

Tecumthe was a daring and sagacious man—a shrewd and fluent orator, an able military chief, and a successful negotiator. He was full of enthusiasm, and fertile of expedient. He possessed an intuitive hatred towards the white men, against whom he had sworn eternal vengeance, and with whom he held himself bound to observe no measures of conciliation, until the purposes to which he had devoted himself should be accomplished. Peculiarly gifted in that kind of tact which distinguishes the artful demagogue, he appealed successfully to the people—touched artfully upon topics which awakened the vanity, the hatred, or the love of plunder of the Indian; and though the chiefs held back from motives of policy, and the old men paused at the prospect of a warfare which would cut off their annuities, and expose them to the vengeance of a powerful nation, the younger warriors panted to follow him to the spoil of the

white man. The daring and improvident, the indolent, the thoughtless, and the intemperate—all the loose elements of society in the native villages—those who were careless of consequences, and to whom no change could be productive of injury — these were especially the minds to which Tecumthe addressed himself; while to the more prudent class he used arguments which at least won their respect, and in some measure disarmed opposition.

The Prophet possessed none of the manly qualities of Tecumthe. He had no name in war, and was an indifferent hunter. He was crafty, cruel, pusillanimous, and haughty. He was also lazy and sensual, and, under various pretexts, obtained a livelihood by extorting supplies of food and other necessaries from the Indians. A variety of accidental circumstances gave him an ascendency over the Indians, which his own talents could not have earned—the condition of the frontier, the superstition of the savages, and the powerful protection of Tecumthe, who affected to treat his brother as a superior being.

The superior mind of Tecumthe had obtained a complete mastery over that of the Prophet; and when in council together, the latter never spoke. He was, however, a better speaker than Tecumthe, and his manner is said to have been more graceful than that of any other Indian. Without the dignity of Tecumthe, he possessed more persuasion and plausibility.

The project of governing the Indians through the medium of a person supposed to be in immediate communication with the Great Spirit, probably originated with Tecumthe, who found a suitable instrument in his cunning and unprincipled brother. The Shawanese, to which tribe they belonged, had long held the belief that they were the favourite tribe, in the estimation of the Great Spirit. In a speech made to Governor Harrison in 1803, an old man of that nation said that the Shawanese had once possessed all the knowledge in the world, but that having offended the Great Spirit, he had taken it from them and lent it to the white people, who would

soon be obliged to surrender it to the Shawanese. Acting upon this delusion, the Prophet commenced a series of incantations, and from time to time communicated the supposed results of his intercourse with the Great Spirit. He uttered the most extravagant prophecies, in reference to the speedy downfall of the whites, the restoration of the Indians to all their former hunting-grounds, and the resumption of the customs of their ancestors. To hasten this desirable end, the Indians were admonished to abstain from the use of all articles manufactured by the whites, and to cease their intercourse with that hated race. Tecumthe acted upon this plan. He seldom ate with a white man, and uniformly declined all articles of food which were peculiar to our tables, unless when necessity compelled him to eat them."

The result of these intrigues was the famous Tippecanoe war.

In the autumn of the year 1811, a combination of Indians, instigated by Tecumthe and the Prophet, began a system of ravages upon the American territory, which made it necessary that the government should immediately take measures for the protection of its citizens. For this purpose a small force of regulars and militia was assembled at Vincennes, and placed under the command of William Henry Harrison, governor of the Indian territory, with instructions to march immediately to the Prophet's town, and demand a restoration of the property carried off by his partisans. He was also authorized to obtain redress by coercive measures if necessary.

Accordingly he marched into the enemy's country, and on the evening of the 5th of November encamped within nine miles of the Prophet's town. The next morning he resumed his march, but no Indians were discovered till he had arrived within six miles of the town. The interpreters were then placed with the advanced guard in order to open a communication with them if possible. But their efforts were vain. Parties of Indians were frequently seen, but they paid no attention to the invitation of the Americans; and all their

attempts to open a communication and come to an understanding with them were vain. When they came within two miles of the town, the path descended a steep hill, at the bottom of which was a small creek running through a narrow wet prairie; and, beyond this, a level plain partially covered with oak timber, and without underbrush. This was a very good situation for the savages to make an attack upon the Americans, and Harrison, supposing he would be assailed, proceeded with the greatest caution. His march was, however, not interrupted, and he arrived safely before the town. He now sent Captain Dubois to the Prophet to treat for peace. But in a few moments he returned, and stated that the Indians were near in considerable numbers, but would make no answer to the interpreter, though they were near enough to hear what was said.

Harrison resolved no longer to hesitate about treating the Indians as enemies. He therefore ranged his troops in order of battle, and was marching against them, when he met with three Indians sent to him by the Prophet. An interview was held with them; and, after some consideration, it was resolved that no hostilities should take place before next morning, when a conference should be held with the principal chiefs, and terms of peace agreed on. The army now proceeded to a creek north-west of the village, and bivouacked on a bank of dry oak land, considerably elevated, and situated between two prairies. The infantry, in two columns, occupied the front and rear, separated on the left, one hundred and eighty yards, and on the right, about half that distance. The left flank was covered by two companies of mounted riflemen, containing one hundred and fifty, rank and file, commanded by Major-General Wells of Kentucky; and the right flank by Spencer's troop of mounted riflemen, to the number of eighty. The front line was composed of one battalion of the fourth regiment of the United States' infantry, under the command of Major Floyd, flanked on the right by two companies of militia, and on the left by one The rear line was formed of another battalion of

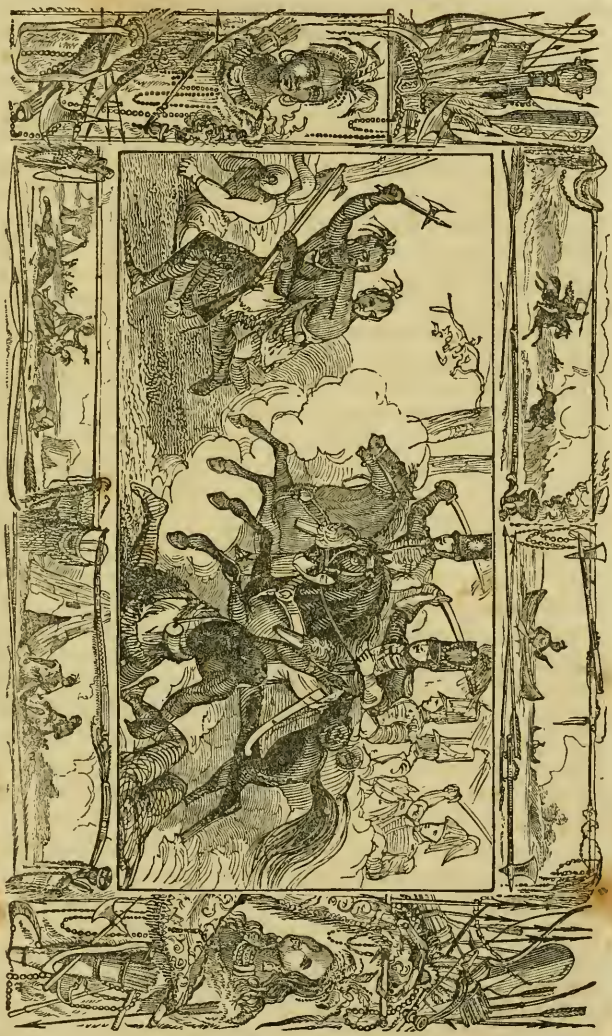
the fourth United States' infantry, under Colonel Baen, acting major, flanked by four companies of militia, under Lieutenant-Colonel Decker. Two troops of dragoons, sixty strong, took post in the rear of the left flank; and another, somewhat stronger, in the rear of the front line. To guard against a night attack, the order of encampment was appointed the order of battle; and each man rested upon his arms.

The order given to the army, in the event of a night attack, was for each corps to maintain its ground at all hazards till relieved. The dragoons were directed in such case to parade dismounted, with their swords on and their pistols in their belts, and to wait for orders. The guard for the night consisted of two captains' commands of twenty-four men and four non-commissioned officers; and two subalterns' guards of twenty men and non-commissioned officers—the whole under the command of a field officer of the day.

Just before reveillé, on the morning of the 7th of November, 1811, an attack commenced on the left flank, and the piquets were driven in. The first notice of the enemy's approach was the usual yell of the savages, within a short distance of the line. They had violated the armistice agreed upon, to subsist until the ensuing day; which, it would seem, they had proposed with a view to gain an opportunity of surprising their adversaries in their usual manner. Nothing but the precaution of encamping in order of battle, and the deliberate firmness of the officers in counteracting the effects of a surprise, saved the army from total defeat. The storm first fell upon Captain Barton's regulars and Captain Geiger's mounted riflemen, forming the left angle on the rear line. Some Indians forced themselves through the line and penetrated into the encampment, where they were killed. The companies, thus suddenly and severely attacked, were reinforced with all possible speed. A heavy fire then opened, to the left of the front, immediately on the regular companies of Captains Baen, Snelling, and Prescot. A gallant charge by the cavalry, from the rear of the front line, under Major Davies, was ordered for

the purpose of breaking the Indians, who appeared in great force among some trees a few yards distant in front. The major received a mortal wound, and his men were driven back by superior numbers of the enemy. Captain Snelling's company then charged with fixed bayonets, and the enemy were dislodged. The enemy's fire now extended along the left flank, the whole of the front, the right flank, and part of the rear line. Upon Spencer's mounted riflemen, and the right of Warwick's company, it was excessively heavy. Captain Spencer and his first and second lieutenants were killed; and Captain Warwick fell, mortally wounded. The troops, notwithstanding the fall of their officers, bravely maintained their posts until reinforced. Day approached, when Major Wells, reconnoitring the position of the enemy on the left, charged and broke them. At this favouring moment, a small detachment from the cavalry dashed furiously upon the retreating Indians, and precipitated them into the marsh. (*See Engraving on the opposite page.*) Simultaneously with these successful efforts on the left, the enemy were charged on the right by the companies of Captain Cook and Lieutenant Larabie, supported by the mounted riflemen, who pursued and killed a number of Indians in their flight. Driven now at all points, and pursued as far as the ground would admit, the Indians dispersed in every direction. They were handled so severely in the retreat, that they were compelled to abandon many of their killed and wounded on the field, which is, with them, evidence of positive defeat. Forty Indians were found dead on the field. Numbers were carried off, some of whom were discovered the next day, in holes containing two, three, and four bodies, covered, to conceal them from the victorious army. The general estimated their loss, in killed and wounded, at one hundred and fifty. Such was the famous battle of Tippecanoe. Tecumseh was not engaged in this battle, being absent from that region on an excursion in the south.

During the time of the contest, the Prophet kept himself secure on an adjacent eminence, singing a war-



song. He had told his followers that the Great Spirit would render the army of the Americans unsuccessful, and that their bullets would not hurt the Indians, who would have light, while the enemies would be involved in thick darkness. Soon after the battle commenced, he was informed that his men were falling. He told them to fight, it would soon be as he predicted, and then began to sing louder.

The troops throughout displayed the greatest bravery, and effectually resisted one of the most furious assaults ever experienced in savage warfare. They were saved only by their soldierly conduct. Had a panic, in the first onset of the savages, produced disorder, they would probably, to a man, have become the victims of the most merciless of foes. Their loss was severe, both in officers and men, viz., one aid-de-camp, one captain, two subalterns, one serjeant, two corporals, and thirty privates killed; two lieutenant-colonels, one adjutant, one assistant surgeon, two captains, three subalterns, nine serjeants, five corporals, one musician, and one hundred and two privates wounded; besides one major, two captains mortally.

Major Davies fell early in the action, greatly lamented by all his associates. He held the first standing in Kentucky, as a lawyer and an orator. In the field he was brave to desperation, and in his death a hero. The legislature of Kentucky, in testimony of their regret for the loss of Davies, Owens, and other volunteers, who were slain in this engagement, resolved to wear mourning for thirty days; and appointed John Rowan, Esq., to deliver, in the capitol, a funeral oration, in honour of the deceased.

Governor Harrison, on the 9th of November, having burned the town, and laid waste the surrounding settlement, from which he obliged the defeated enemy to fly, returned with his forces into the settled country. The Prophet was immediately abandoned by his followers, who, on his defeat, lost all faith in his supernatural pretensions. Even his life was endangered by the sudden change in the feelings of those whom he had too suc-

cessfully deluded. Most of the Indian tribes who had been influenced by his impious pretensions, after his expulsion from his imagined sanctuary, offered their submission, and sued for peace.

CHAPTER XVIII.

NORTH-WESTERN WAR.

(1812 and 1813.)



THE calm that succeeded the battle of Tippecanoe was but of short duration. The Indians were not conciliated; they had been overpowered; and they still bore an unquenchable hatred to the people of the United States. When war was declared, June 18th, 1812, against Great Britain, they again broke out, devastated the whole of the western frontier, and committed the most horrible cruelties and murders; so that in a short time many of the inhabitants deserted their homes, and sought safety in flight.

After the capture of Hull, the frontier was still more exposed than formerly to the ravages of the Indians. General Harrison, who had been appointed major-general in the Kentucky militia, in compliance with the unanimous desire of his fellow-citizens in the western country, hearing that Fort Wayne was invested by a

large body of the savages, hastened to its relief. But when he had approached within a short distance of the fort, the enemy retreated; and he thus had the honour of relieving that place without the shedding of blood. Shortly after this event General Winchester was appointed commander of the army instead of Harrison; this appointment occasioned much uneasiness among the troops; and it required all Harrison's influence to reconcile the army to the change.

Winchester, however, enjoyed the command but a short time. When the president heard that it was the wish of nearly all the inhabitants of the western states that Harrison should be commander-in-chief of the army, he appointed him to that situation, and intrusted him with powers and responsibilities the most weighty and delicate. No other person, except Washington and Greene, had ever been entrusted with such absolute authority as he now exercised.

On the 3d of September, a body of Kickapoo and Winnebago Indians assembled at Fort Harrison, on the Wabash, and endeavoured by treacherous pretences of friendship to gain admission. The commander, Captain Jeremy Taylor, was not, however, deceived by them, but kept his garrison ready to defend the post; and on the next day the Indians made an assault; but were gallantly repulsed.

Irritated at this defeat, a large party of them broke into the settlements on the Pigeon Roost Fork of White River, where they massacred, in the most horrible manner, twenty-one persons, including women and children. Shortly after, an escort of thirteen men, bearing provisions, was also surprised, and the whole of the party murdered.

Similar atrocities having been committed in the Illinois and Missouri territories, Governor Edwards of Illinois made appeals to the general government, as well as to the governors of the neighbouring states, for assistance.

Governor Shelby, whose zealous patriotism has rendered his name so conspicuous in the annals of this

war, made an eloquent appeal to the people of Kentucky, calling on them for assistance. This appeal was not without effect, for two thousand men were immediately assembled at Louisville, and other points on the Ohio—while so great was the excess of numbers that many were turned back; and one veteran belonging to a company whose services were not accepted, after venting his disappointment, was heard to remark, "Well, well, Kentucky has often glutted the market with hemp, flour, and tobacco; and now she has done it with volunteers."

On the 1st of October the army was assembled at Vincennes, where it was organized, and the command assumed by General Samuel Hopkins, of the Kentucky militia. They now crossed the Wabash, and proceeded in the direction of the Kickapoo villages, on the Illinois river. But being deceived by their guides, they wandered about for several days without advancing far towards the point of destination. The want of provisions was soon felt, and both horses and men were sinking with fatigue. Under these circumstances it was determined to return. The expedition was considered to have failed in its principal object, and severe reflections were cast upon the commander. But a court of inquiry being afterwards held, they decided that his conduct merited applause, rather than censure.

After dismissing the mounted men, General Hopkins led a body of infantry against the Indians on the Wabash. The march was commenced on the 11th of November, and conducted with the greatest caution. On the 19th they arrived at the Prophet's Town, which was destroyed, as were a Winnebago village, a few miles lower down, and a Kickapoo village, on the western side of the river. Operations were continued until the 24th, when the weather becoming extremely cold, and the troops being destitute of the necessary clothing, they returned home.

Meanwhile a successful expedition had been carried on by Governor Edwards and Colonel Russell against the Kickapoos. Their principal village, at the head of

Peoria Lake, was surprised, a large number of warriors killed, their corn destroyed, and about eighty horses captured.

Information having been received that Colonel Elliot was advancing from Malden towards the river Raisin, with a body of English and Indians, to attack the camp at the Rapids, Colonel Lewis, who was stationed at Presque Isle, pushed forward for Frenchtown, a village midway between Presque Isle and Malden, and distant from each eighteen miles. After a laborious march they arrived at this place, where they found the enemy ready to receive them. It was, however, determined to attack them; accordingly an assault was made, and the enemy were finally forced to give way. The British were commanded by Major Reynolds, and they lost about a hundred in killed and wounded.

Lewis determined to maintain his position at Frenchtown, and General Wincester, on receiving intelligence of the victory, approved the decision of Lewis, hastened to support him with all his troops, and on the 21st of January established his head-quarters at Frenchtown, which he determined to fortify the next day. Colonel Wells was sent to the Rapids, where he met General Harrison, who had arrived there the day before, and was making every effort to hasten forward the reinforcements.

The advices sent by Winchester to Harrison had all been delayed by accidents incident to the wilderness and the season; and he was now endeavouring to support movements which he could not have foreseen, and of which he was recently and unexpectedly apprized. This, with his feeble and scattered means, in the depth of a northern winter, and in the impracticable state of that wilderness region, was a hopeless undertaking; but unpromising as it was, it was attempted with zeal and earnestness; and on the 20th he dispatched Captain Hart with instructions to Winchester to maintain the position at the river Raisin.

As soon as the British at Malden heard of the advance of the Americans on Frenchtown, they deter-

mined to attack them. Accordingly, on the morning of the 22d, they commenced the assault, by opening a heavy battery at the distance of three hundred yards from the American camp. The enemy had approached in the night in profound silence. The Americans were outnumbered, and only a part of them were protected by temporary breastworks. The assailants rushed forward to the charge, with the bayonet and the tomahawk, amid the loud yells of the savage. From the camp of Lewis, which was surrounded with pickets, they were repulsed; but the reinforcement which had arrived under Winchester, and was unprotected by any work, was overpowered, and forced to give way. General Winchester hastened to the scene of action, and endeavoured, ineffectually, to rally the broken lines. But the British pressed upon the disordered troops; the Indians gained their right flank, and the men began to retreat in confusion across the river. Lewis and Allen gallantly endeavoured to regain the ground that had been lost, but in vain; the Indians had now gained the other flank, and were in possession of the woods in the rear. Confusion increased; a large party of our troops which had reached the woods were surrounded and massacred without distinction and without mercy. Nearly one hundred were tomahawked at one spot. Every fugitive was slaughtered. The brave Allen, after being badly wounded, and retreating two miles, surrendered to an Indian; another savage assailed him, and Allen, with a blow of his sword, struck the assassin dead, and was himself shot down by a third Indian.

Lieutenant Garrett having surrendered himself, with a party of fifteen or twenty men, all but himself were instantly butchered. Another party of thirty men had retreated three miles, when they were surrounded, and compelled to surrender; half of them were murdered. Winchester and Lewis were captured, and their coats stripped off: in this condition they were taken to Colonel Proctor's head-quarters.

The troops within the picketing, under Graves and Madison, still maintained that position with Spartan

valour. Major Graves, when severely wounded, sat down, exclaiming, "Never mind me—fight on." Proctor, at length wearied with the ineffectual sacrifice of his men, withdrew his mercenary troops and savage allies from the vain attempt to dislodge this little band of heroes.

But Proctor at length procured by an act of indescribable baseness, what he could not effect by valour. He told General Winchester that unless the remainder of his troops should surrender, the whole of the prisoners would be massacred. Shocked as he must have been at such a violation of the laws of war, he had seen enough to know that he was in the hands of a monster, who only wished for some pretext to steep his hands still more deeply in blood. A flag was sent by him, therefore, with an order to Major Madison to surrender, borne by Major Overton, the aid of Winchester, and accompanied by Proctor. The latter insolently demanded an immediate surrender; threatening, in case of refusal, to deliver over the whole garrison to the vengeance of the Indians. Major Madison observed, "That it had been customary for the Indians to massacre the wounded and prisoners, and that he would not agree to any capitulation which General Winchester might direct, unless the safety and protection of his men were stipulated." Colonel Proctor said, "Sir, do you mean to dictate *to me?*" "No," replied the gallant Madison, "I intend to dictate for myself, and we prefer selling our lives as dearly as possible, rather than to be massacred in cold blood." Proctor then received the surrender, on the conditions that private property should be respected, that the prisoners should be protected by a guard, the sick and wounded removed on sleds, and the officers allowed to retain their side-arms.

We forbear to shock our readers by recounting in detail the atrocities that ensued;—atrocities which have covered the name of Proctor with eternal infamy. The prisoners thus taken were given over to the Indians to be slain in cold blood. A few were saved by the interposition of some of the officers. Graves, Hart,

Hickman, and other gallant officers, with their brave companions, were coldly delivered up, by British officers, to the infuriated Indians, and butchered in their presence. Some of their bodies were thrown into the flames of the burning village, and others, shockingly mangled, left exposed in the streets. Major Woolfolk, the secretary of Winchester, was shot some days after his capture, and Major Graves murdered at some later period, which has never been ascertained. For several days this horrid tragedy continued to be acted; and every prisoner who became exhausted in the march towards Malden, was handed over to the savages. (*See Engraving on the opposite page.*)

For the massacre at the river Raisin, for which any other civilized government would have dismissed, and perhaps have gibbeted, the commander, Colonel Proctor received the rank of major-general in the British army! So far from disgracing the perpetrator of such atrocities, the government rewarded him; and the commander of the forces in Upper Canada, in a general order distinguished for its falsehood and malignity, boasted of this "brilliant action," and of the "gallantry" of Proctor, which he declared to have been "nobly displayed!"

In the latter part of April, the British, accompanied by their usual allies, the Indians, proceeded against Fort Meigs. On the morning of the 1st of May, they had completed their batteries, and had every thing ready for opening their fire upon the Americans. But while the British had been employed in erecting batteries, the Americans had constructed a grand traverse, running entirely across the camp. When the British were about to fire, orders were given for the tents in front of this work to be struck; and in a few minutes they all disappeared, and not a person was visible from the British lines. They, however, opened their batteries, but without doing much harm.

General Clay was still on his way to join Harrison. He being informed that Clay would reach the camp at dawn on the ensuing morning, determined to make a



sortie upon the enemy; he, therefore, sent orders for Clay to land with eight hundred men at a point to be shown by Captain Hamilton, a mile and a half above Camp Meigs. Hamilton was to conduct the detachment to the British batteries, on the left bank of the river. These were to be taken, the cannon spiked, and the carriages cut down; the troops were then to embark in the boats, and cross to the fort. The remainder were to land on the other bank, and cut their way through the Indians into the fort.

Colonel Dudley proceeded to lead the detachment against the enemy's batteries; while General Clay followed with the remainder of his men. In attempting to land, the boats of Clay became separated by the violence of the current, and were landed at different points. Captain Peter Dudley marched into the camp without loss, under a heavy fire of the enemy. Colonel Boswell, with the rear boats, deceived by a movement of those in advance, was about to land on the wrong side, when he was instructed to cross over, and fight his way into the camp. When he had landed, the party was put in great danger by the Indians; but they fought their way through them, and arrived safely at the fort.

General Harrison now ordered a sortie from the fort, under the command of Colonel John Miller. He, accompanied by Major Todd, charged the British, and drove them from their batteries—spiked their cannon, and took forty-one prisoners, including an officer, having completely beaten and driven back the enemy. The British force consisted of two hundred regulars, one hundred and fifty Canadians, and five hundred Indians, being more than double the number of the brave detachment that had attacked them.

Meanwhile Colonel Dudley had effected a landing on the opposite side of the river, and marched rapidly towards the enemy's batteries. He succeeded completely in the objects of the expedition; the batteries were carried without the loss of a single man. But instead of returning immediately to the fort, they loitered about the batteries with the most perfect indifference

to any approaching danger. They were now attacked by a party of Indians; these they defeated and pursued for two miles. The left column, under Major Shelby, which remained in possession of the batteries, was now charged by the enemy, who had rallied: some were made prisoners, and others driven to the boats. Shelby rallied the remainder and hastened to the assistance of Dudley. A retreat was now attempted, but in the utmost disorder. A greater part of the men were captured by the Indians, or surrendered to the English.

The British and Indians now perpetrated their usual atrocities. The gallant Dudley, with several of his companions, were tomahawked. The prisoners were taken to Fort Miami, and the Indians there stationed themselves on the ramparts, and fired upon them. Others, still more cruel, selected a victim, led him out, and in the very presence of Proctor and his officers, tomahawked him. This horrid work continued till the arrival of Tecumseh, who put a stop to the carnage.

Soon after, Proctor sent a formal summons to Harrison to surrender; but he replied that he considered such a message as an insult. Proctor, finding that he could not take the fort, raised the siege and decamped.

On the morning of the 31st of July, a body of English and Indians arrived before Fort Stephenson, which was commanded by Major Croghan. The garrison were then summoned to surrender, and in case of refusal, were threatened with instant death at the hands of the Indians. Major Croghan answered, "that when the fort should be taken, there would be none left to massacre; as it would not be given up while a man was able to fight."

The British began their firing early in the morning, and continued it throughout the day. In the evening, an assault was made by the whole force of the enemy, in two columns, one led by Colonel Short, the other by Colonel Warburton and Major Chambers. They rushed forward with great bravery; but they were thrown into confusion by a destructive fire of musketry, kept

up by Captain Hunter. The loss of the Americans was *one* killed and *seven* wounded; whilst that of the British was about *one hundred and fifty* in killed and wounded.

When the fighting had ceased, Major Croghan sent out provisions and water to the wounded of the British, who were lying in a deplorable condition, in the ditch around the fort; and those who were able to creep to the fort were kindly received.

The next morning, at three o'clock, the whole British and Indian force commenced a disorderly retreat.

A few days before this event, Fort Meigs was invested by fifteen hundred British regulars and Canadians, and by five thousand Indian warriors led on by Tecumseh and Dickson. A large portion of the latter were Winnebagoes, and others of the fiercest of the Indian tribes, from the shores of the upper lakes; who were brought for the first time against the army of Harrison, by a promise that the fort should be stormed, and the prisoners and booty delivered over to them, to be dealt with according to their pleasure.

Harrison received information of these facts by Captain M'Cune; he having received his advices, had just returned to the fort, when a subtle stratagem was made use of to draw the Americans from the fort. A sham fight was acted in sight of the garrison; the Indians attacked a body of Canadians, who at first broke, but afterwards rallied again, when the Indians gave back. It was expected that the garrison would mistake the Canadians for the army of Harrison, and rush out to their relief. But the advices brought by Captain M'Cune prevented this mistake. Had the troops rushed out as had been anticipated, they would all, without doubt, have been instantly massacred, and the fort taken possession of by the Indians and British troops. A short time after, dissensions broke out among the English and their allies, and the siege was raised.

The victory of Commodore Perry having opened to the Americans the navigation of Lake Erie, General Harrison now determined to cross over into Canada

and bring Proctor to an engagement. This latter general retreated before him, but, after a severe pursuit, was overtaken on the 5th of October. Proctor's army was posted on the river Thames; his left was flanked by that river, and his right by a swamp. Beyond the latter, and between it and another swamp still further on the right, were the Indians under Tecumseh. Proctor had formed his men in open order, that is, with intervals of three or four feet between the files. Harrison, on perceiving this, ordered Colonel Johnson, with the mounted men, to dash through the enemy's line in a column. This was easily done; and forming in their rear, the Americans assailed their broken line. The battle was gained. No sooner was their line broken, than the British began to throw down their arms and beg for quarter.

On the American left, some fighting took place with the Indians. A lively fire was kept up for some time. Tecumseh rushed on Colonel Johnson, with his tomahawk raised, and was on the point of striking him, when Johnson drew a pistol from his belt and shot him dead.* The Indians, on the death of their chief, gave way and retired in confusion. (*See Engraving on the opposite page.*)

With the exception of a few who had galloped off with General Proctor, the whole British army was taken. Their loss in this engagement was eighteen killed and twenty-six wounded; while the prisoners amounted to six hundred. The number of troops engaged on our side was less than twenty-five hundred, of whom nearly all were militia. The enemy brought into the field eight hundred and forty-five regular soldiers and two thousand Indians; so that if there was any difference in point of numbers, it was in their favour.

*It is but fair to state that this account of the death of Tecumseh is disputed; and this with so much circumstantial evidence against the version of the affair in the text, that it still remains a question in the history of Indian warfare,—"Who killed Tecumseh?"





We close our account of this war, which thus far may be characterized as an Indian war, with the following remarks of Judge Hall.*

"The defeat of the enemy was the consequence of a novel and most able disposition of our army by its commander, and the quickness with which he took advantage of the enemy's errors on the field of battle, at the moment of engaging, and of the gallantry of our brave troops. It closed the war in that quarter; and, together with the brilliant victory of Perry on the adjacent lake, rescued the whole north-western frontier from the depredations of the savage, and from all the accumulated horrors of war. In the language of the Hon. Langdon Cheves on the floor of Congress, 'The victory of Harrison was such as would have secured to a Roman general, in the best days of the republic, the honours of a triumph. He put an end to the war in the uppermost Canada.' He received his reward. He was complimented by Congress, and by various public bodies. There was but one voice — it was that of national gratitude, bursting out in loud acclamation, in applause of the public services of a great national benefactor."

*"Memoir of the Public Services of William Henry Harrison, of Ohio."



CHAPTER XIX.

THE CREEK WAR.

(1813 and 1814.)



IN the spring of 1812, the southern Indians were visited by the celebrated Tecumseh, who, with an ardent but savage eloquence, urged them to take up arms against the whites. He reminded his countrymen of the usurpation of their lands by the European race; and painted in glowing terms their spirit of encroachment, and the consequent diminution of the Indians. He also brought to his aid the influence of religion, and denounced the vengeance of the Great Spirit against those who should imitate the manners of the whites. In short, his arguments had such an effect that the Creeks took up arms, and began to commit depredations upon the settlements of the Americans.

The first regular appearance of hostility was, however, made by the Creeks and Seminoles, who resided within the limits of Florida. A number of fugitive negroes having joined them, they began a cruel and harassing warfare against the whites. In September, 1812, a party of Georgia volunteers, under the command of Colonel Newman, was attacked near the Lackway towns, by a very superior force of Indians. They, however, bravely defended themselves, and the



Indians were obliged to retreat. But in the evening they again returned, and obliged the Georgians to retreat to the place from which they had set out.

On the 30th of August, 1813, Fort Mimms, which contained one hundred and fifty men, under the command of Major Beasely, besides a number of women and children, was surprised by a party of Indians. The houses were set on fire, and those who escaped the flames fell victims to the tomahawk. Neither age nor sex was spared; and the most horrible cruelties, of which the imagination can conceive, were perpetrated. Out of the three hundred persons which the fort contained, only seventeen escaped to carry the dreadful intelligence to the neighbouring stations.

This sanguinary and unprovoked massacre excited universal horror, and the desire of revenge. The state of Tennessee immediately took active measures for punishing the aggressors. General Jackson was ordered to draft two thousand of the militia and volunteers of his division; and General Coffee was directed to proceed with five hundred mounted men to the frontier of the state. The former having collected a part of his force, joined Colonel Coffee on the 12th of October, at Ditto's landing, on the Tennessee. They then marched to the Ten Islands, on the same river. A few days afterwards, General Coffee was detached with nine hundred men to attack a body of the enemy, posted at Tallushatchee. He arrived early in the morning within a short distance of it, and dividing his force into two columns, completely surrounded it. The Indians, for a long time, made a desperate resistance, and did all that it was possible for men to do who were in their situation. But they were finally overpowered, with the loss of one hundred and eighty-six men. (*See Engraving on the opposite page.*) A number of women and children were also taken prisoners. Of General Coffee's force, five were killed, and forty wounded.

General Jackson now determined to proceed with his whole force to the relief of a post garrisoned by the friendly Indians, at Talladega, about thirty miles distant, which

was besieged by the enemy. Accordingly, on the evening of the 7th of December, he arrived within six miles of the enemy. On the next morning, his march was resumed, and having arrived at a mile from the Indians, he made his dispositions for the attack. The advance, under General Carroll, was directed to commence the action, and the mounted men were posted on the right and left so as to be able to surround the enemy. This plan would have fully succeeded, had not a part of the infantry fled on the first approach of the enemy. The Indians were, however, defeated, but a great portion of them escaped, in consequence of the investment not being complete. Three hundred warriors were left dead on the field, and a great number were killed in the pursuit. Of the Americans, fifteen were killed, and eighty wounded.

An opportunity might now have offered to follow up the blow, but this was prevented by the want of provisions. General Jackson, therefore, marched back his army to Fort Strother, at the Ten Islands; but on his arrival there, he learnt, to his great mortification, that no supplies had arrived. In this situation the army was reduced to great inconveniences, and discontent soon broke out among the volunteers. Having in vain endeavoured to quell it, he ordered them to be marched back to Nashville, to await the orders of the president.

Whilst General Jackson was thus contending with his men, General Cocke, who commanded the militia of East Tennessee, detached General White with a part of his force against the towns of the Hillabee tribe. White proceeded to fulfil his instructions; and having destroyed their town and killed sixty warriors, he returned with about two hundred and fifty prisoners. About the same time, the Georgia militia under General Floyd, obtained a signal victory over a body of the enemy at the Autossee towns, on the Tallapoosa river.

General Jackson being now reinforced by a body of about one thousand mounted volunteers, determined to attack the Indians, who were posted at the bend of the Tallapoosa. On the 21st of January, 1814, he arrived

in the vicinity of the enemy, and encamped in a hollow square. On the morning of the 22d, the Indians commenced a furious attack upon his left flank, but after a warm action were repulsed with considerable loss. Jackson now determined on a general attack. The Indians resisted for a long time, but were finally overpowered. They fled, leaving a great number of their companions lying dead on the field of battle.

This battle was not gained without considerable loss to the victors. The wounded required care and attention, which they could not receive in that quarter, and it was therefore determined to proceed to the Ten Islands. Accordingly, on the next morning, the army began its march, and proceeded without interruption till it arrived at the Enotichopco creek. While crossing this, Jackson was attacked by a numerous body of Indians. On the first fire, the vanguard retreated into the creek, thus leaving only about twenty to oppose the enemy. But the Indians, perceiving that they were now about to be attacked by the main body, retired in confusion, and were pursued a considerable distance. Their loss during the pursuit was very great, while that of the Americans was but trifling. The repulse received by the enemy, prevented any further molestation of the army, which reached Fort Strother on the 27th of January.

A short time after Jackson's return to Fort Strother, the term of service of the volunteers expired, and they were discharged with honourable testimonies, by their commander. To supply their places, a draft of twenty-five hundred militia was now made, for a tour of three months; and on the 6th of February, a regiment of regular infantry, six hundred strong, arrived at Fort Strother. Discontent again broke out among his army, occasioned by the want of provisions; but, by the firmness of General Jackson, order was again restored. He finally succeeded in gaining the supplies of which he was in so much need, and on the 14th of March, commenced another expedition against the Creeks, which ended in the entire overthrow of this unfortunate nation.

The encampment which General Jackson determined to attack, was situated on the Tallapoosa, near Toucka. This place had been fortified by the Indians, with a degree of skill uncommon among an uncivilized people. The force which Jackson brought with him consisted of about three thousand men; and at ten o'clock in the morning of the 27th of March, he arrived within a short distance of the encampment, and made his pre parations for the attack. These were soon completed, and the army marched forward to the contest. The Indians resisted for a long time with the greatest obstinacy; but the ramparts were finally scaled and the enemy driven into the brush. But they were soon compelled to retire from this, and surrounded on every side. General Jackson now sent a flag, with an interpreter, to summon them to surrender. But the party was fired on and a person wounded. The destruction which they appeared to seek, was now accorded them. The trees and brush in which they had concealed themselves, were set on fire, and they were thus exposed to the view of their assailants, by whom their numbers were soon materially thinned. This work of slaughter and misery continued until night, when the few wretched survivors, aided by the darkness, succeeded in making their escape. This victory gave a death-blow to the power and hopes of the Creeks. Five hundred and fifty-seven of their warriors were found dead on the ground; and three hundred women and children fell into the hands of the victors. The American loss was fifty-five killed, and one hundred and forty-six wounded.

After this engagement, General Jackson returned with his victorious army to Fort Williams; but, determined to give his enemy no opportunity of retrieving the misfortune that had befallen him, he recommenced operations immediately afterwards. On the 7th of April, he again set out for Tallapoosa, with the view of forming a junction with the Georgia troops under Colonel Milton, and completing the subjugation of the country. On the 14th of that month, the union of the two armies was effected, and both bodies moved to a place called



the Hickory Ground, where, it was expected, the last final stand would be made by the Indians, or terms of submission would be agreed on. The principal chiefs of the different tribes had assembled here, and, on the approach of the army, sent a deputation to treat for peace. Among them was Weatherford, celebrated equally for his talents and cruelty, who had directed the massacre at Fort Mimms. It had been the intention of General Jackson, to inflict a signal punishment upon him, if ever in his power. Struck, however, with the bold and nervous eloquence of this fearless savage, and persuaded of the sincerity of his wishes for peace, he dismissed him without injury. Some of the speeches of this warrior have been preserved, and exhibit a beautiful specimen of the melancholy but manly tone of a savage hero, lamenting the misfortunes of his race. The following passages are all we have room to insert. (*See Engraving, on the opposite page.*) Addressing General Jackson, he said, "I am in your power—do with me as you please. I am a soldier. I have done the white people all the harm I could; I have fought them, and fought them bravely." "There was a time when I had a choice, and could have answered you: I have none now,—even hope is ended. Once I could animate my warriors; but I cannot animate the dead. My warriors can no longer hear my voice: their bones are at Talladega, Tallushatchee, Emuckfaw, and Tohopeka. Whilst there was a chance of success, I never left my post, nor supplicated peace. But my people are gone; and I now ask it for my nation and myself." He shortly afterwards became the instrument of restoring peace, which was concluded by the total submission of the Indians. They agreed to retire in the rear of the army, and occupy the country to the east of the Coosa; while a line of American posts was established from Tennessee and Georgia, to the Alabama, and the power and resources of these tribes were thus effectually destroyed.

CHAPTER XX.

SEMINOLE WAR.

(1817.)



JUST after the close of the last war with Great Britain, when the British withdrew their military force from the Floridas, Edward Nicholls, formerly a colonel, and James Woodbine, a captain in the British service, who had both been instrumental in exciting the Indians and negroes of the south to hostilities, remained in the territory for the purposes of forming combinations against the south-western frontier of the United States. To the Creeks, who had ceded their lands to our government by General Jackson's treaty of August, 1814, Nicholls represented that they had been defrauded; that the treaty of Ghent had provided for the restoration of their lands, and that the British government was ready to enforce their claims. He even went so far as to assume the character of a British agent, with powers, from the commencement, for supporting their pretensions.

To effect their purposes, Nicholls and Woodbine established a fort on the Appalachicola river, between East and West Florida, as a rendezvous for runaway negroes and hostile Indians. In July, 1816, about four

hundred negroes and Indians were collected at this place, which was strong by its position, fortified with twelve pieces of artillery, and well provided with ammunition and provisions.

To dislodge this horde of outlaws, Colonel Clinch, with a detachment of United States troops, and five hundred friendly Indians, under the command of M'Intosh, proceeded from the head waters of the Appalachicola, and laid siege to the fort on the land side. Nicholls and Woodbine first exacted an oath from their followers not to suffer an American to approach the fort alive, and then giving it up to them went off.

To supply Colonel Clinch's forces with munitions and provisions for the siege, two schooners, from New Orleans, by permission of the Spanish authorities at Pensacola, proceeded up the Appalachicola, under convoy of two gun-boats, on the 10th of July. When near the fort, a watering party of seven men, from the schooners, was surprised by an ambuscade of negroes; five were killed, one escaped, and one was captured, tortured, and put to death. The gun-boats, having but a twelve pounder and twenty-five men each, were deemed insufficient by Colonel Clinch to attack the fort, and their commander was cautioned against attempting any offensive operations. Not deterred by this, he warped up sufficiently near to reach it, and on commencing the firing of hot shot, one of them entered the principal magazine, and blew up the fort.

The destruction was complete: two hundred and seventy of the enemy were killed; most of the remainder were badly wounded, and only three of the whole number escaped unhurt. An immense quantity of arms and munitions of war, designed for supplying the Indians and negroes with the means of annoying the frontier settlers, fell into the hands of the conquerors; and two chiefs, who had directed the torture of American prisoners, were given over to the tender mercies of M'Intosh's Indians. The savage horde of West Florida was thus broken up.

In East Florida, an enemy of the same description

was engaged in a similar system of operations. This province of Spain had become the receptacle of a popu lation of the vilest character. The Spanish authorities had no control over them beyond the limits of their fortified posts. The most numerous occupants of the interior were the Seminole Indians, outcast *runaways*, as their name indicates from the Creeks. Their allies were the Red-Sticks, and other fugitives from the northern tribes. The Red-Sticks were Creeks who had been expelled from their lands in 1813. They had erected a high pole at their principal village of Mickasuky, and painted it red, to denote their thirst for the blood of the whites. Their flag was composed of scalps of Americans whom they had murdered. Hence their name Red-Sticks. To this Indian population were added some hundreds of runaway negroes from Georgia. The frontier inhabitants had much to dread from such a population. Their warriors amounted to some fifteen hundred or more. Francis Hillishago, a Creek chief, had been on an unsuccessful visit to England for the purpose of recovering his lands by the aid of the government. The Spanish authorities of Florida, and numerous adventurers from New Providence, gave them encouragement, and supplied them with arms; and represented the Americans as enemies bent upon the extermination of the Indian race. Thus supported, these outcasts carried on a system of murder and plunder on the frontiers of Georgia and Alabama, taking refuge in the Mickasuky and Sawaney villages, situated on the borders of Georgia.

The region which had thus become the seat of a sanguinary border warfare, was situated in the military department of General Jackson, and was under the immediate command of General Gaines. The latter, in pursuance of his orders to protect the frontier, concentrated his forces in that quarter, and built Fort Scott, on the Flint river, near its junction with the Catahoochee; Fort Gaines, on the latter river, on the line between Georgia and Mississippi; and Fort Crawford, in Mississippi, on the Canacho branch of the Escambia.

General Gaines' instructions on the subject of the Seminole war, were contained in four orders from the war department. The first, of the 30th of October, 1816, after directing a detachment of Georgia militia to be called into service, states, "that the assurance of an additional force, the president flatters himself, will at least have the effect of restraining the Seminoles from committing further depredations, and perhaps of inducing them to make reparation for the murders which they have committed: should they, however, persevere in their refusal to make such reparation, it is the wish of the president that you should not, on that account, pass the line, and make an attack upon them within the limits of Florida, until you should have received further instructions from this department. You are authorized to remove the Indians still remaining on the lands ceded by the treaty made by General Jackson with the Creeks."

The second, bearing date the 2d of December, remarks, "the state of our negotiations with Spain, and the temper manifested by the principal European powers, make it impolitic, in the opinion of the president, to move a force, at this time, into the Spanish possessions, for the mere purpose of chastising the Seminoles for depredations which have heretofore been committed by them." By the third, dated the 9th of December, General Gaines was instructed, that should the Indians appear in force on the Spanish side of the line, and persevere in committing hostilities within the limits of the United States, to exercise a sound discretion as to the propriety of crossing the line, for the purpose of attacking them and breaking up their towns. The fourth, bearing date the 16th of December, further instructed him, that should the Seminole Indians still refuse to make reparation for their outrages and depredations on the citizens of the United States, to consider himself at liberty to march across the Florida line and attack them within its limits, unless they should shelter themselves under a Spanish fort, and in that event, immediately notify the war department.

On the 19th of November, 1816, General Gaines being

at Fort Scott, and having been instructed to remove the remaining Creeks from the territory ceded to the United States, by Jackson's treaty, sent an officer to Fowltown, one of their settlements near him, to require the removal of certain Indians still remaining. The chief returned a haughty refusal. Major Twigs being dispatched on the next day, with two hundred and fifty men, to bring the chiefs and warriors to Fort Scott, was attacked by the Indians, but he repulsed and put them to flight, after killing and wounding a small number. Four days after, he marched to the town, which he found deserted. Three vessels, under the direction of Major Muhlenburg, with military stores for the supply of Fort Scott, were ascending the Appalachicola, on the 30th of November, when a party of forty men, under Lieutenant Scott, was sent down the river to their assistance, by General Gaines. Muhlenburg took out twenty of the men, and supplying their places with his sick, invalids, and seven women, sent the boat back towards the fort. At the mouth of Flint river, the boat was attacked by an ambuscade of Indians, and all were killed except six soldiers, who escaped to the opposite shore by swimming, and one woman, who was captured. The scalps of the killed were taken to the Mickasuky village and added to the trophies on the red pole of the Indians. The vessels, retarded by the current, and constantly assailed by the savage enemies who lined the banks of the river, received the aid of another detachment from the fort, which a favourable wind at last enabled them to reach.

The news of these disasters induced the government to take more decisive measures, and on the 26th of December, General Jackson was ordered to take the field, with instructions to raise troops at his discretion, and conform to the orders previously given to General Gaines, as to the method of prosecuting the war. An appeal from the general, to the patriotism of the volunteers of West Tennessee, soon brought a thousand soldiers into the service. They were ordered to rendezvous at Fayetteville and proceed to Fort Scott.

The general now left his residence at Nashville, and on the 9th of March arrived at Fort Scott, with nine hundred Georgia militia. He crossed the Flint river on the 10th, and arrived on the 16th at Prospect Bluff, where he erected a fort, to which he gave the name of Fort Gadsden, in honour of the engineer engaged in its erection. General Gaines had joined him on the march.

Being nearly destitute of provisions, General Jackson determined to sustain the army by causing supplies to be transported up the Escambia, passing Pensacola and the fortress of Barancas. He accordingly wrote to the Spanish governor of West Florida, that he should consider any interruption to this proceeding, on his part, as an act of hostility against the United States. The governor demanded duties on the stores, but did not venture to enforce his demand.

M'Intosh, the Creek chief, with one thousand five hundred warriors, having entered the service of the United States in this expedition, the whole force of General Jackson now amounted to four thousand three hundred men. The enemy consisted of runaway Indians and negroes to the amount of one-quarter or one-third of that number. No serious contest could be anticipated; and, accordingly, the subsequent operations constituted, as Jackson afterwards aptly denominated it, "a war of movements."

On the 1st of April, the Tennessee volunteers joined the main body, which had then nearly reached the Mickasuky villages. As they approached them, the outposts had a trifling skirmish with some Indians, who soon fled; and the villages, on the arrival of the army, were found deserted by their inhabitants. The wigwams were burnt; the old red stick, with the scalps of Lieutenant Scott's party attached to it, was found still standing.

M'Intosh and his warriors were ordered to scour the neighbouring country in pursuit of the fugitives; and General Jackson now marched to the Spanish fort of St. Mark's, took possession of it, hoisted the

American flag, and shipped the Spanish garrison to Pensacola.

In the neighbourhood of this place was found a Scotch trader, named Alexander Arbuthnot, who had been carrying on an extensive intercourse with the hostile Indians and negroes. The general put him in close confinement. Francis Hillishago, the Creek chief, and Hoonotlemied, a Red-Stick chief, who had led the murderers of Lieutenant Scott's party, and had been decoyed on board a vessel in Apalachee bay, by Captain M'Keever, were now hung by the general's order.

The general then left a small garrison at St. Mark's, and on the 9th of April marched for the Sawaney villages, distant one hundred and seven miles. He arrived there on the 16th, killed eleven Indians, and took two prisoners. The next day the villages were destroyed, and parties were sent out in pursuit of the fugitives. Arbuthnot's schooner was captured at the mouth of the Sawaney river, and employed in transporting the sick and baggage of the army to St. Mark's. On the 18th, Robert C. Ambrister, late a lieutenant of marines in the British service, under Nicholls, was captured in the neighbourhood of the villages.

The war was now considered as having terminated. The Georgia militia and M'Intosh's Indians were discharged; and on the 11th of April the main body set out for St. Mark's, and after a rapid march of five days arrived at that place.

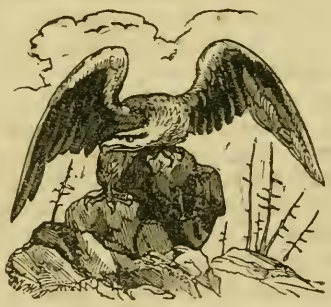
It is foreign to our purpose to go into a history of what was denominated, at that time, the Arbuthnot and Ambrister affair. The proceedings in relation to their trial were certainly of a very summary character, and they were put to death; but whether as outlaws, spies, or pirates, we must leave to General Jackson to decide. It is worthy of remark, however, that the proceedings of the general, in relation to these men, were justified by the congress of the United States, and the parliament of Great Britain. The Spanish government complained, but were silenced by the answer of Mr. Adams.

At St. Mark's, General Jackson received intelligence

that some of the fugitive Seminoles had escaped to West Florida. He, therefore, after leaving a garrison in the fort, marched into the immediate neighbourhood of Pensacola. The Spanish governor remonstrated; the general occupied the town, and the governor and garrison were obliged to take refuge in the fortress of Barancas. (24th May.) The fort was now invested and bombarded till the 27th of May, when it was surrendered to the United States. St. Augustine, the only remaining Spanish fortress, being subsequently captured by General Gaines, in obedience to Jackson's orders, the whole province was in the military possession of the United States; and the Seminole war had ended in the conquest of Florida.

The diplomatic proceedings which followed this event, the temporary restoration of the province, and its final cession, are matters which belong to the civil history of the United States.

Subsequent events have made it pretty apparent, that in this war the Seminoles were not all killed.



CHAPTER XXI.

BLACK HAWK'S WAR.



BLACK HAWK, the Indian chief whose fame has been recently so widely extended among us, was born on Rock river, in Illinois, about the year 1767. His great-grandfather was a chief by the name of Nanamakee, or Thunder. Having, at the early age of fifteen, taken the scalp of an enemy, he was admitted to the rank of a brave. A short time afterwards, he joined in a war-party against the Osages, and was greatly distinguished for his valour. On his return, he was allowed to join in the scalp-dance of the nation. His reputation being thus established, he frequently led war-parties against the enemies of his tribe, and was in almost every case successful.

The treaty which had been made in 1804, by Governor Harrison, with the Sacs and Foxes, by which they ceded their lands east of the Mississippi, was executed by a few chiefs, without the knowledge or consent of the nation. Therefore, when Fort Madison was erected by the Americans, upon the Mississippi, these tribes expressed their dissatisfaction in an open manner, and even made an unsuccessful attempt to cut off the garrison.

In the meanwhile, the territory of Illinois had been admitted into the Union, and now formed a state. Emi-

grants poured in from all parts, and in a short time the territory occupied by the Sacs and Foxes was completely surrounded by the settlements of the white men. These soon began to commit outrages upon their red neighbours, in order to hasten their departure from the ceded territory. In 1827, when these tribes were absent from their homes, engaged in hunting, some of the whites set fire to their village, by which forty houses were consumed. The Indians said nothing concerning this disgraceful act; but, on their return, quietly rebuilt their dwellings. The whites also turned their cattle into the fields of the Indians, by which means the corn was all trodden under foot and destroyed.

The American government now determined to sell the lands occupied by these tribes of Indians, and they were accordingly advised to remove. Keokuk, the chief, with a majority of the nation, determined to do so; but Black Hawk, with a party which he gained over to himself, resolved to remain, at all hazards.

Meanwhile, the whites committed greater acts of violence upon the Indians than before. The latter at last took up arms, and a war would certainly have taken place, had not General Gaines, commander of the western division of the United States' army, hastened to the scene of action. He held a council with the principal chiefs, in which it was agreed that the nation should instantly remove. They accordingly crossed the river and settled on its western bank.

The majority of the Indians were on peaceable terms with the United States. But Black Hawk and his band determined to return to Illinois, alleging that they had been invited by the Potawatamies, residing on Rock river, to spend the summer with them, and plant corn on their lands.

Accordingly, they crossed the Mississippi and proceeded towards the country of the Potawatamies. They did not attempt to harm any one upon the road. The traveller passed by them without receiving any injury, and the inmates of the lowly hut experienced no outrage. Thus they continued, and without doubt, no vio-

lence would have been committed by them, had not the whites been the first to shed blood. Five or six Indians, who were in advance of the party, were all captured and put to death, by a battalion of mounted militia, except one who made his escape. The one who escaped brought the news to Black Hawk, who immediately determined to be revenged. He therefore planned an ambuscade, into which the militia were enticed. On receiving the fire of the Indians, they became panic-struck, and fled in disorder, with the loss of fourteen men.

The Indians, now that the war was begun, determined to do all the mischief in their power. They accordingly divided into small parties, proceeded in different directions, and fell upon the settlements which were at that time thinly scattered over a greater portion of Illinois. Here they committed such outrages that the whole state was in the greatest excitement. Governor Reynolds ordered out two thousand additional militia, who, on the 10th of June, assembled at Hennepin, on the Illinois river, and were soon engaged in pursuit of the Indians.

On the 20th of May, 1832, the Indians attacked a small settlement on Indian Creek, and killed fifteen persons, besides taking considerable plunder. On the 14th of June, five persons were killed near Galena. General Dodge being in the neighbourhood, marched with thirty of his mounted men immediately in search of them. When he had gone about three miles, he discovered twelve Indians, whom he supposed to be the party that had committed the murders, and he entered into the pursuit with great spirit. The Indians made for a swamp, in which they immediately took shelter. The whites rushed in after them, and soon met them. No resistance was made; every Indian was killed, and their scalps were taken off and borne away in triumph.

Meanwhile, General Atkinson was pursuing Black Hawk, whose camp was near the Four Lakes. Instead of crossing the country, to retreat beyond the Mississipoi, as was expected, he descended the Wisconsin, to

escape in that direction; by which means General Dodge came upon his trail and commenced a vigorous pursuit.

On the 21st of July, Dodge, with about two hundred men, besides Indians, came up with Black Hawk, on the Wisconsin, forty miles from Fort Winnebago. The whites came upon the Indians just as they were about to cross the river; after a short engagement the Indians retreated; and, it being dark, the whites could not pursue them without disadvantage to themselves. Black Hawk's party, it is supposed, lost about forty men in this encounter.

The Indians were now in a truly deplorable condition; several of them were greatly emaciated for want of food, and some even starved to death. In their pursuit of them before the battle, the whites found several of their number lying dead on the road. Yet were they not altogether dispirited, and they resolved to continue hostilities as long as they were able.

In the affair which we have just related, a squaw, the wife of a warrior, called Big-Lake, was taken prisoner. From her the whites learned that Black Hawk intended to proceed to the west side of the Mississippi, above Prairie du Chien; those having horses were to strike across the country, whilst the others were to proceed by the Wisconsin. A great many of these latter were taken prisoners on the road by the whites.

Several circumstances now transpired to prevent the escape of the main body under Black Hawk. The first was his falling in with the "Warrior" steamboat, (August 1st,) just as he was about to cross the Mississippi. On this occasion, the chief did not wish to fight, but to escape. He displayed two white flags; and about one hundred and fifty of his men came to the river without arms, making signs of submission. But J. Throckmorton, the commander of the boat, either could not or would not understand their signals; he gave orders for his men to fire upon them, which they did; the fire was returned, but without doing any

damage. The engagement lasted for about an hour when the wood of the steam-boat began to fail, and it proceeded to the Prairie. In this battle, the Indians had twenty-three men killed, besides a great many wounded; while the whites had none killed, and only one wounded.

On the next day, Atkinson's army came up with Black Hawk, after having encountered many inconveniences and dangers in the march. He immediately formed his troops in order of battle, and attacked the Indians. However, lest some should escape up or down the river, Atkinson had ordered generals Alexander and Posey to form the right wing of the army, and march down to the river above the Indian encampment on the bank, and then move down. The battle now commenced, and lasted for about three hours. The Indians fought with desperation, and disputed the ground with the greatest valour. They were, however, finally obliged to retreat. Their loss in killed and wounded amounted to about two hundred, while that of the Americans was but twenty-seven.

This action may be considered as the finishing stroke of the war, although Black Hawk made his escape. From this time Black Hawk's men continually deserted him, and went over to the whites. Finally, the warrior himself came in, and surrendered to the agent at Prairie du Chien. On this occasion he made a speech, in which he said that he regretted his being obliged to close the war so soon, without having given the whites much more trouble; that he had done nothing of which he had any reason to be ashamed; that an Indian who was as bad as the white men would not be allowed to live in their communities; and ended with the following words: "Farewell, my nation! Black Hawk tried to save you, and revenge your wrongs. He drank the blood of some of the whites. He has been taken prisoner, and his plans are stopped. He can do no more. He is near his end. His sun is setting, and he will rise no more. Farewell to Black Hawk."

Black Hawk was now taken to Washington, where

he had an interview with the President. He was then conducted through the principal Atlantic cities, and received everywhere with the most marked attention and hospitality. He was then set at liberty, and returned to his nation. He died on the 3d of October 1838, at his village, on the Des Moines river.*

CHAPTER XXII.

SEMINOLE WAR.



IT is generally admitted that the existing Seminole war originated in the opposition of the Mecasukians, and some hostile chiefs of the Seminole nation, to the execution of the treaty of Payne's Landing. In this treaty it had been stipulated that the Seminole Indians should relinquish to the United States all claim to their lands, and emigrate to the region west of the Mississippi, in consideration of a certain sum of money which should be paid to them when they came to the banks of that river. It was further stipulated, that a party of these Indians should visit the territory in question, and give their opinion concerning it. This party accordingly proceeded thither, and when they returned, reported very favourably of the country.

Every preparation was now made for leaving Florida,

* See Hall & M'Kenny's Indian Biography.

when John Hext, one of the chief men of the tribe, who exercised a very great influence over them, died. Osceola, or Powell, who, previous to this time, had shown no extraordinary powers, now began to exhibit abilities which soon gave him, with the Mecasukians, the influence exercised by John Hext, but which he wielded with far different purposes. For as Hext had always been in favour of the emigration, and was peaceably disposed, so was Osceola as much opposed to it; and by every art in his power inflamed the minds of the people against the whites, and against the execution of this measure. He conducted himself in so violent a manner, that the Indian agent was obliged to arrest him and put him in irons. But, deceived by his professions of friendship, he released him on his return to Fort King.

The first rupture with the Indians took place near Hogs Town settlement, on the 19th of July. A party of Indians had crossed their bounds for the purpose of hunting. They separated, and agreed to meet each other on a certain day. Accordingly, on that day five of the Indians had met together, when a party of white men came along, who flogged them with their cow-whips. Whilst they were doing this, two other Indians arrived, who, seeing what was going on, raised their war-whoop, and fired upon the whites. The fire was returned, by which one of the Indians was killed, and the other wounded. Three of the whites were also wounded.

On the evening of the 6th of August, 1835, Dalton, who was employed to carry the mail from Camp King to Tampa Bay, was met by a party of Indians, who barbarously murdered him. General Thompson, the Indian agent, when he heard of this transaction, convened the chiefs, who promised to bring the offenders to justice. But this promise they did not keep; and while they were deluding the whites with fair promises, they gathered together arms, and made preparations for the war which they meditated.

In September, Charley Omathla, a friendly chief of great influence, while journeying with his daughter,

was waylaid and shot by some Mecasukies, led by Osceola, probably with a view to deter other chiefs from favouring the operations of our government, which were steadily directed to the entire removal of the Indians to the region west of the Mississippi.

The occurrence of these and similar hostilities, induced General Clinch, the officer commanding on that frontier, to represent to the general government the importance of having an efficient force placed at his disposal, for terminating the war. It will be recollected by the reader, that General Jackson, when in similar circumstances himself, had assumed powers almost dictatorial, raised between four and five thousand troops, and conquered Florida from the Spaniards, without being able to find above a dozen or two of the Indians to kill. As president of the United States, he conducted this war in a very different style, having probably a different object.

General Clinch, at the commencement of the hostilities, had no more than two hundred and fifty regulars. Receiving no seasonable aid from President Jackson, he called on the executive of Florida for assistance, obtained six hundred and fifty militia, and with this force made a demonstration on the Ouithlacoochee river.

It was while the army was advancing in this direction that the most signal disaster, of this truly disastrous and disgraceful war, took place—the total destruction of the detachment commanded by Major Dade.

On the 23d of December, the companies of Captains Gardiner and Frazer of the United States army, under Major Dade, marched from Tampa Bay for Camp King. The first halt was made at Hillsborough Bridge. Here Major Dade wrote to Major Belton, urging him to forward a six-pounder, which had been left four miles behind, in consequence of the failure of the team which was to have been used in transporting it. Three horses were purchased, with the necessary harness, and it joined the column that night.

From this time no more was heard of the detach-

ment until the 29th of December, when John Thomas, one of the soldiers, returned, and on the 31st, Rawson Clarke. The account given by the latter of the fate of the detachment is as follows:

"It was eight o'clock. Suddenly I heard a rifle shot in the direction of the advanced guard, and this was immediately followed by a musket shot from that quarter. Captain Frazer had ridden by me a moment before in that direction. I never saw him afterwards. I had not time to think of the meaning of these shots, before a volley, as if from a thousand rifles, was poured in upon us from the front, and all along our left flank. I looked around me, and it seemed as if I was the only one left standing in the right wing. Neither could I, until several other volleys had been fired at us, see an enemy —and when I did, I could only see their heads and arms peering out from the long grass, far and near, and from behind the pine trees. The ground seemed to me an open pine barren, no hammock near that I could see. On our right, and a little to our rear, was a large pond of water, some distance off. All around us were heavy pine trees, very open, particularly towards the left, and abounding with long high grass. The first fire of the Indians was the most destructive, seemingly killing or disabling one half our men.

"We promptly threw ourselves behind trees, and opened a sharp fire of musketry. I, for one, never fired without seeing my man, that is, his head and shoulders. The Indians chiefly fired lying or squatting in the grass. Lieutenant Bassinger fired five or six pounds of cannister from the cannon. This appeared to frighten the Indians, and they retreated over a little hill to our left, one-half or three-quarters of a mile off, after having fired not more than twelve or fifteen rounds. We immediately then began to fell trees, and erect a little triangular breastwork. Some of us went forward to gather the cartridge boxes from the dead, and to assist the wounded. I had seen Major Dade fall to the ground by the first volley, and his horse dashed into the midst of the enemy. Whilst gathering the cartridges, I saw Lieu-

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tenant Mudge sitting with his back reclining against a tree, his head fallen, and evidently dying. I spoke to him, but he did not answer. The interpreter, Louis, it is said, fell by the first fire.*

"We had barely raised our breastwork knee high, when we again saw the Indians advancing in great numbers over the hill to our left. They came on boldly till within a long musket shot, when they spread themselves from tree to tree to surround us. We immediately extended as Light Infantry, covering ourselves by the trees, and opening a brisk fire from cannon and musketry. The former I dont think could have done much mischief, the Indians were so scattered. (*See Engraving on the opposite page.*)

"Captain Gardiner, Lieutenant Bassinger, and Dr. Gatlen, were the only officers left unhurt by the volley which killed Major Dade. Lieutenant Henderson had his left arm broken, but he continued to load his musket and to fire it, resting on the stump, until he was finally shot down; towards the close of the second attack, and during the day, he kept up his spirits, and cheered the men. Lieutenant Keyes had both his arms broken in the first attack; they were bound up and slung in a handkerchief, and he sat for the remainder of the day, until he was killed, reclining against the breastwork, his head often reposing upon it, regardless of everything that was passing around him.

"Our men were by degrees all cut down. We had maintained a steady fight from eight until two, P. M., or thereabouts, and allowing three quarters of an hour interval between the first and second attack, had been pretty busily engaged for more than five hours. Lieutenant Bassinger was the only officer left alive, and he severely wounded. He told me as the Indians approached to lie down and feign myself dead. I looked through the logs, and saw the savages approaching in

*It has since been learned that this person only feigned death, and that he was spared, and read all the dispatches and letters that were found upon the dead to the victors.—*Cohen.*

great numbers. A heavy-made Indian, of middle stature painted down to the waist, and whom I suppose to have been Micanope, seemed to be the chief. He made them a speech, frequently pointing to the breastwork. At length, they charged into the work; there was none to offer resistance, and they did not seem to suspect the wounded being alive—offering no indignity, but stepping about carefully, quietly stripping off our accoutrements, and carrying away our arms. They then retired in a body in the direction from whence they came.

"Immediately upon their retreat, forty or fifty negroes on horseback, galloped up and alighted, tied their beasts, and commenced with horrid shouts and yells the butchering of the wounded, together with an indiscriminate plunder, stripping the bodies of the dead of clothing, watches, and money, and splitting open the heads of all who showed the least signs of life with their axes and knives; and accompanying their bloody work with obscene and taunting derision, and with frequent cries of "what have you got to sell?'

"Lieutenant Bassinger hearing the negroes butchering the wounded, at length sprang up, and asked them to spare his life. They met him with the blows of their axes, and their fiendish laughter. Having been wounded in five different places myself, I was pretty well covered with blood, and two scratches that I had received on my head, gave me the appearance of having been shot through the brain, for the negroes, after catching me up by the heels, threw me down, saying, 'damn him, he's dead enough!' They then stripped me of my clothes, shoes, and hat, and left me. After stripping all the dead in this manner, they trundled off the cannon in the direction the Indians had gone, and went away. I saw them first shoot down the oxen in their gear, and burn the wagon.

"One of the other soldiers who escaped, says they threw the cannon in the pond, and burned its carriage also. Shortly after the negroes went away, one Wilson, of Captain Gardiner's company, crept from under some of the dead bodies, and hardly seemed to be hurt at all.

He asked me to go with him back to the fort, and I was going to follow him, when, as he jumped over the breastwork, an Indian sprang from behind a tree and shot him down. I then lay quiet until nine o'clock that night, when D. Long, the only living soul beside myself, and I, started upon our journey. We knew it was nearest to go to Fort King, but we did not know the way, and we had seen the enemies retreat in that direction. As I came out, I saw Dr. Gatlin lying stript amongst the dead. The last I saw of him whilst living, was kneeling behind the breastwork, with two double barrel guns by him, and he said, 'Well, I have got four barrels for them!' Captain Gardiner, after being severely wounded, cried out, 'I can give you no more orders, my lads, do your best!' I last saw a negro spurn his body, saying, with an oath, 'that's one of their officers.'

"My comrade and myself got along quite well until the next day, when we met an Indian on horseback, and with a rifle, coming up the road. Our only chance was to separate—we did so. I took the right, and he the left of the road. The Indian pursued him. Shortly afterwards I heard a rifle shot, and a little after another. I concealed myself among some scrub, and saw palmetto, and after a while saw the Indian pass, looking for me. Suddenly, however, he put spurs to his horse, and went off at a gallop towards the road.

"I made something of a circuit before I struck the beaten track again. That night I was a good deal annoyed by the wolves, who had scented my blood, and came very close to me; the next day, the 30th, I reached the fort."

The following is the report of Captain Hitchcock concerning this affair:

"WESTERN DEPARTMENT,
Fort King, Florida, Feb. 22, 1836.

"GENERAL—Agreeably to your directions, I observed the battle ground six or seven miles north of the Withlacoochee river, where Major Dade and his command were destroyed by the Seminole Indians, on the 28th

December last, and have the honour to submit the fol-.owing report:

"The force under your command, which arrived at this post to-day from Tampa Bay, encamped on the 19th instant, on the ground occupied by Major Dade on the night of the 27th December. He and his party were destroyed on the morning of the 28th, about four miles in advance of that position. He was advancing towards this post, and was attacked from the north; so that on the 20th instant we came upon the rear of his battle ground, about nine o'clock in the morning. Our advanced guard had passed the ground without halting, when the General and his Staff came upon one of the most appalling scenes that can be imagined. We first saw some broken and scattered bones; then a cart, the two oxen of which were lying dead, as if they had fallen asleep, their yokes still on them; a little to the right, one or two horses were seen. We then came to a small enclosure, made by felling trees in such a manner as to form a triangular breast-work for defence. Within the triangle, along the north and west faces of it, were about thirty bodies, mostly mere skeletons, although much of the clothing was left upon them. These were lying, every one of them, in precisely the same position they must have occupied during the fight; their heads next to the logs over which they had delivered their fire, and their bodies stretched with striking regularity parallel to each other. They had evidently been shot dead at their posts, and the Indians had not disturbed them, except by taking the scalps of most of them. Passing this little breast-work, we found other bodies along the road, generally behind trees, which had been resorted to for covers from the enemies' fire. Advancing about two hundred yards farther, we found a cluster of bodies in the middle of the road. They were evidently the advanced guard, in the rear of which was the body of Major Dade, and to the right that of Captain Fraser.

"These were doubtless all shot down by the first fire of the Indians, except, perhaps, Captain Fraser, who

must, however, have fallen very early in the fight. Those in the road, and by the trees, fell during the first attack. It was during a cessation of the fire, that the little band still remaining, about thirty in number, threw up the triangular breast-work, which, from the haste with which it was constructed, was necessarily defective, and could not protect the men in the second attack.

"We had with us many of the personal friends of the officers of Major Dade's command; and it is gratifying to be able to state, that every officer was identified by undoubted evidence. They were buried, and the cannon, a six-pounder, that the Indians had thrown into a swamp, was recovered, and placed vertically at the head of the grave, where it is to be hoped it will long remain. The bodies of the non-commissioned officers and privates were buried in two graves, and it was found that every man was accounted for. The command was composed of eight officers, and one hundred and two non-commissioned officers and privates. The bodies of eight officers and ninety-eight men were interred; four men having escaped, three of whom reached Tampa Bay; the fourth was killed the day after the battle.

"It may be proper to remark, that the attack was not made from a hammock, but in a thinly wooded country; the Indians being concealed by palmetto and grass, which has since been burned.

"The two companies were Captain Frazer's of the 3d Artillery, and Captain Gardiner's of the 2d Artillery. The officers were, Major Dade of the 4th Infantry, Captains Fraser and Gardiner, Second Lieutenant Bassinger, Brevet Second Lieutenants R. Henderson, Mudge and Keyes, of the Artillery, and Dr. J. S. Gatlin.

"I have the honour to be, with the highest respect, your obedient servant,

E. A. HITCHCOCK,
Captain 1st Infantry, Act. In. General.

Major General E. P. Gaines,
Commanding Western Department, Fort King, Florida.'

Thus perished the gallant Dade and his command by the hand of a cruel and savage foe. They maintained their ground until none were left unwounded, and then those who were not dead were massacred by a cruel and bloodthirsty foe. Their names are honoured by all, and it is hoped that the nation may erect some enduring memorial which shall mark the scene of their suffering, and record the virtues of these martyrs in their country's cause.

On the 6th of January, 1836, a party of thirty Indians made an attack on Mr. Cooly's family, settled on New River, about twelve miles from Cape Florida, whilst he was absent from home. They murdered his wife, three children, and a Mr. Flinton, who was employed as their teacher. Mr. Cooly had long resided among the Indians, learnt their language, and uniformly treated them with kindness. But, notwithstanding these circumstances, they massacred his whole family in cold blood. The families in the neighbourhood, seeing what was going on, made their escape, and thus avoided a similar fate.

On the 31st of December, 1835, General Clinch pushed forward across the Ouithlacoochee, to attack the Indians who were encamped about a mile from that river. The following account of this engagement is taken from the general's official report:

"HEAD QUARTERS, TERRITORY OF FLORIDA, }
Fort Drane, Jan. 4, 1836. }

"SIR—On the 24th ultimo, Brigadier General Call, commanding the volunteers called into service by order of his Excellency G. R. Walker, Acting Governor of Florida, formed a junction with the regular troops at this post, and informed me that his command had been raised to meet the crisis; that most of their terms of service would expire in a few days, which made it necessary to act promptly. Two large detachments were sent out on the 15th, to scour the country on our right and left flank. Lieut. Col. Fanning, with three companies from Fort King, arrived on the 27th; and on the 29th, the detachment having returned, the Bri-

gade of Mounted Volunteers, composed of the 1st and 2d regiments, commanded by Brigadier General Call, and a battalion of regular troops, commanded by Lieut. Col. Fanning, took up the line of march for a point on the Ouithlacoochee river, which was represented by our guides as being a good ford. About four o'clock on the morning of the 31st, after leaving all our baggage, provisions, &c., protected by a guard commanded by Lieut. Dancy, we pushed on with a view of carrying the ford, and of surprising the main body of Indians, supposed to be concentrated on the west bank of the river; but on reaching it, about day-light, we found, instead of a good ford, a deep and rapid stream, and no means of crossing, except in an old and damaged canoe. Lieut. Col. Fanning, however, soon succeeded in crossing; the regular troops took a position in advance, whilst Brig. Gen. Call was actively engaged in crossing his brigade, and in having their horses swum over the river. But before one half had crossed, the battalion of regulars, consisting of about two hundred men, were attacked by the enemy, who were strongly posted in the swamp and scrub which extended from the river. This little band, however, aided by Col. Warren, Major Cooper, and Lieut. Yeoman, with twenty-seven volunteers, met the attack of a savage enemy, nearly three times their number, headed by the Chief Osceola, with Spartan valour. The action lasted nearly an hour, during which time the troops made three brilliant charges into the swamp and scrub, and drove the enemy in every direction; and after the third charge, although nearly one-third their number had been cut down, they were found sufficiently firm and steady to fortify the formation of a new line of battle, which gave entire protection to the flanks, as well as to the position selected for re-crossing the troops. Brig. Gen. Call, after using every effort to induce the volunteers remaining on the east bank, when the action commenced, to cross the river, and in arranging the troops still remaining on that bank, crossed over, and rendered important service by his coolness and judgment in arranging part of his corps

on the right of the regulars, which gave much strength and security to that flank."

Here the general goes into a pretty minute enumeration of the signal services performed by sundry captains, lieutenants, and sergeants, of whom he gives the names, regiments, &c., after which he thus concludes:

"The term of service of the volunteers having expired, and most of them having expressed an unwillingness to remain longer in service, it was considered best, after removing the dead, and taking care of the wounded, to return to this post, which we reached on the 2d instant, without the least interruption; and on the following day the Volunteers from Middle Florida took up the line of march for Tallahassee, and this morning those from East Florida proceeded to their respective homes, leaving me a very few men to guard this extensive frontier. I am now fully convinced, that there has been a great defection among the Florida Indians, and that a great many Creeks have united with them, consequently it will require a strong force to put them down."

While these operations were going forward in the western part of the peninsula, the plantations and settlements in the neighbourhood of St. Augustine were ravaged by the enemy, many of the inhabitants slain, and the negroes taken away. General Hernandez, who was in command at that place, ordered out the militia, who were ill supplied with munitions and provisions; and were, for the most part, unable to follow the rapid movements of the Indians, or even to arrest the progress of their devastations. A detachment under Major Putnam, succeeded in bringing the Indians to action at Dunlawton, the plantation of George Anderson; a skirmish took place, in which, according to the official report, one negro was killed outright, and seventeen more wounded—two mortally. The same report claimed to have killed ten of the Indians; and assigns the immense superiority of the enemy's force as a reason for his retreating after what is humorously denominated *the Battle of Dunlawton.*

At this period of the war it was asserted without

contradiction in congress, that in East Florida five hundred families had been driven from their homes, and their possessions destroyed by the Indians; and that all this individual suffering, and every other calamitous consequence of the contest, had been caused, not by the hostility of the savages to the citizens, but by the determination of the enemy to resist the fixed policy of the government to remove them to the region west of the Mississippi. An appropriation was then voted by congress for the relief of the families suffering by the hostilities of the Indians.

General Gaines, the commander of the southern division of the army of the United States, was on a tour of observation, remote from the scene of action, when hostilities commenced. Arriving at New Orleans, January 15th, and learning the state of affairs, he called on the governor of Louisiana to have a body of volunteers in readiness for service, and proceeded himself to the seat of war. At Pensacola he found some armed vessels under Commodores Dallas and Bolton, and Captain Webb, who had commenced operations near Tampa Bay. Colonel Twigs was ordered to receive into service the Louisiana volunteers, which, with the regular troops in the neighbourhood, amounted to one thousand one hundred men.

General Gaines now returned to New Orleans to hasten the reinforcements, and on the 9th of February arrived at Tampa with the forces, in three steam-boats. He then marched for Fort King, where he arrived on the 22d February, and thence moved down the Ouithlacoochee. On the 27th, at General Clinch's crossing place, he had a slight skirmish with the enemy, in which he lost one killed, and eight wounded.

On the 28th, the army was again attacked on its march, and the firing continued half a day, during which Lieutenant Izard, of the United States Dragoons, fell mortally wounded; one other was killed, and two wounded. On the 29th another attack took place, the Indians appearing in considerable force, (one thousand five hundred or two thousand.) One man was killed,

and thirty-three wounded; General Gaines among the latter, he having received a shot in the under lip. Skirmishes followed till the 5th of March, when Osceola, who commanded the Indians, requested a parley, which accordingly took place on the morning of the 6th, when the Indians were informed that a larger force was coming to the support of the army before them, and that unless they submitted, every Indian found in arms would be shot. They replied, that they would hold a council, and give their answer in the afternoon. At the afternoon conference, they professed to be tired of the war, and asked for further time to learn the wishes of their governor, Micanopy, who was absent. They were told that on condition of their retiring south of the Ouithlacoochee, and attending a council when called on by commissioners on the part of the United States, they should not be molested. To this they agreed; but General Clinch, who had been summoned by express from Fort Drane, coming upon the main body of the Indians, at this moment, they supposed themselves to have been surrounded by deliberate stratagem, and that they were about to be cut off; and they incontinently fled, probably in no humour to renew the negotiation. General Clinch brought five hundred men, and abundant supplies, of which General Gaines's army was in great need, no competent provision having been previously made by the commissariat department.

General Gaines now transferred his command to General Clinch, and returned to New Orleans. Clinch retired with his whole force to Fort Drane. In this expedition, the whites lost five killed, and sixty wounded; the Indians acknowledged a loss of thirty men.

In January, 1836, General Scott was ordered to assume the chief command in Florida. He arrived at the seat of war in February, and immediately commenced a series of operations, differing in many respects from any that had formerly been acted upon. After placing his troops in as good a condition as possible, he marched them, in three divisions, across the hostile country as far as Tampa Bay, where sickness

and scarcity of provisions arrested their further progress. In spite of these discouraging circumstances, Scott employed the soldiers who were fit for duty, in scouring the territory and penetrating as far as possible into the morasses. But these exertions, though made at the expense of much care and labour, resulted in little good. The Indians if surprised on the plains could glide into the swamps, where they contrived to baffle all pursuit. The general was subjected to the mortification of seeing his plans frustrated, the campaign failing, and his troops wasting under disease and discouragement. To this was added the loss of the confidence of government. He was superseded in July; and on receiving the intelligence departed for Washington. A narrative of the subsequent trial to which the general was subjected does not, perhaps, properly belong to a mere sketch of the war; yet it may be justice to remark that the members of the court expressed their unanimous opinion "that the plan of the campaign adopted by General Scott was well calculated to lead to successful results, and that it was prosecuted by him, as far as practicable, with zeal and ability until recalled from the command."

General Scott was succeeded by General Jessup, who during the greater part of his term of command was stationed on or near the Withlacoochee. During the summer and fall the Indians remained quiet; but in winter they collected in bands, made descents upon the plantations, burning or destroying all grain and other productions, and murdering the inhabitants. A considerable force of regular troops and volunteers was sent against them, but without success. They were followed by the greater part of the southern army. Exasperated by resistance, the Seminoles united with several other tribes, and began a desperate struggle to expel the army. The Creeks were speedily reduced and transported beyond the Mississippi. The Seminoles continued hostilities, wasting and massacring

whenever opportunity permitted, and evading pursuit by retiring to the morasses.

Toward the close of 1837, the Indian chiefs amused General Jessup by overtures of treaties, and proposals to accept the mediation of a delegation from the Cherokees. The general's hopes of effecting, what so many of his predecessors had failed to effect, were cruelly disappointed; and on the 19th of December, he communicated that fact to Colonel Taylor, then stationed at Fort Gardner, south of the Withlacoochee. The colonel was instructed to proceed with the least possible delay against any portion of the enemy he might hear of within striking distance, and to destroy or capture it.

Next day Colonel Taylor marched with about one thousand men in pursuit of the enemy. In the evening of the same day, he was met by sixty-three Indians, headed by the chief Jumper. They surrendered. Next day he received information of a large body of Indians in his front; but soon after, twenty-two of all ages and both sexes met and surrendered. But the Indian chief Alligator, having sent a message of defiance, Taylor laid out a small stockade fort, where he left his heavy baggage and artillery with eighty-five sick. These were guarded by Captain Monroe with his company. The colonel then pushed forward, and early the next day reached Alligator's encampment, situated on the edge of Cabbage-tree hammock. It had been deserted, but at some distance in advance several Indians were taken, from whom important information concerning the enemy was obtained. Another deserted encampment was reached next morning, and about noon of the same day the colonel came up with the main body of the enemy. They were hidden in a hammock, which was protected in front by a swamp three-quarters of a mile broad and covered with saw-grass five feet high. It was knee deep in mud and water, and totally impassable to cavalry.

On reaching the swamp, the colonel dismounted his

cavalry and formed the order of battle. The whole force then pressed through the swamp, wading the whole distance to the edge of the hammock. Here the advance guard, volunteers and spies, under Colonel Gentry, received a heavy fire, and were put to flight with the loss of their commander. The regulars pressed forward in good order. The Indians concentrated their fire on six companies of infantry, killing the commander, Lieutenant-colonel Thompson, and killing or wounding every other officer except one. When these companies retired, one of them had but four men untouched. The Indians were however charged, and driven from the hammock to the lake of Okeechobee, on which their encampment extended for more than a mile. The colonel ordered their right flank to be turned, which was executed in a handsome manner; and the Indians, after delivering another fire, broke and fled in all directions. They were pursued until sundown. The action, from its commencement until the time when the enemy began their retreat, lasted nearly three hours.

In the battle of Okeechobee the Americans lost twenty-six killed and one hundred and twelve wounded, including some of their most valuable officers. The loss of the Indians is supposed to have been about the same.

The results of this expedition, Colonel Taylor sums up as follows:—"This column in six weeks penetrated one hundred and fifty miles into the enemy's country; opened roads and constructed bridges and causeways when necessary, on the greater portion of the route; established two depôts and the necessary defences for the same, and finally overtook and beat the enemy in his strongest position. The results of which movement and battle have been the capture of thirty of the hostiles, the coming in and surrendering of more than one hundred and fifty Indians and negroes, the capturing and driving out of the country six hundred head of cattle, upwards of one hundred head of horses, besides obtaining a thorough knowledge of the country

through which we operated, a greater portion of which was entirely unknown except to the enemy."

The importance of this battle was duly appreciated by government. Colonel Taylor was raised to the brevet rank of brigadier-general, and subsequently intrusted with the chief command in Florida. He established his head-quarters at Tampa Bay, from which he directed the remaining operations of the war until 1840. He was, however, unable to bring the Indians to a second general engagement. They had been discouraged by the affair of Okeechobee, and, as is generally the case with their tribes, entertained strong apprehensions concerning the *good luck* of the officer who had defeated them. Hence the operations of the war at this period were merely predatory incursions on the part of the Seminoles, on villages or single plantations, which they could rob or devastate in a night and escape before news of the depredation reached the American head-quarters. Still the American forces, by separating into small parties which scoured the open country, were enabled to prevent much mischief and to keep the savages in awe.

In May, 1839, General Macomb, commander-in-chief of the United States army, arrived at Fort King in Florida, and invited the Indian chiefs to a conference. They consented, and arrangements were entered into, which, as the general supposed, were about to terminate the war. The futility of the supposition was speedily apparent. Early in July, travellers and trains were attacked on the highway, plantations ravaged, and settlers murdered or driven northward. At Charlotte's harbour, Lieutenant-colonel Harney, with thirty dragoons, was surprised while asleep by two hundred and fifty Seminoles. Twenty-four were killed in their beds, or while escaping. Harney saved his life by swimming to a fishing-smack. This disaster might probably have been avoided, but for the feeling of security inspired by the previous treaty. Soon after, the legislature of Florida authorized the employ-

ment of blood-hounds to track the Indians to their lurking places. The attempt was made with thirty-three dogs imported from Cuba, but failed completely.

In 1840, General Taylor requested and obtained permission to retire from the command in Florida. He was succeeded by General Armistead. The end of the war seemed distant as ever. On the 7th of August a party of Spanish Indians in boats attacked Key Island, murdered several of the inhabitants, among whom was Dr. Perrine, a distinguished naturalist, and set fire to the buildings. They then retired with their scalps and booty. The American troops, on account of sickness, the great heat of the weather, and their totally insufficient numbers, were obliged to remain tame spectators of these outrages. On the 28th of December, Lieutenant Sherwood and twelve men, acting as an escort to Mrs. Montgomery, were attacked at Martin's Point. The lady and two privates were instantly killed, and the lieutenant, with his remaining men, after fighting hand to hand with the savages, was overpowered by numbers. The attacking party were soon afterwards captured. In March, 1841, two slight skirmishes occurred with celebrated chiefs, in which the Indians were worsted. A few then surrendered, but every thing was as yet uncertain and desultory. In the same month, the great chief Coacoochee surrendered to Colonel Worth.

On the 31st of May, Worth received the chief command in Florida. He was instructed by government "to terminate as speedily as possible the protracted hostilities in Florida." The duty, as may easily be imagined, was one of no easy execution. Forty-seven thousand square miles were occupied by Indians, and they kept that immense extent of country in alarm, without once appearing in an open battle, or, to any great extent risking their personal safety. Hitherto, owing to the heat and unhealthfulness of the climate, no campaign had been carried on during the summer. Worth resolved on adopting a new plan, by pursuing

the Indians during the entire year. He determined also to change the mode of action to that of partisan warfare—his commands being "Find the enemy, capture or exterminate." The first act, in obedience to this order, was the destroying of the Indian corn-fields, so that during the month of June destruction was carried into a large portion of the enemy's country. In July, Coacoochee's band, consisting of seventy-eight warriors, sixty-four women, and forty-seven children, surrendered. Soon after, another great chief with eighteen warriors was decoyed on board a vessel, by promises of a conference, and secured. Other captures or surrenders followed; and a large number of the Indians were sent to the West. They now appeared discouraged, especially as their provisions had been destroyed, and their swampy fastnesses invaded. Yet for several months they maintained a kind of guerrilla warfare, ravaging the remote borders, shooting the unguarded traveller, and harassing the soldiery. The Americans suffered greatly from sickness, especially yellow fever and dysentery, brought on by the heat. Many died of sheer exhaustion.

On the 20th of December, the settlement of Mandarin was attacked by seventeen Indians. Two men, two women, and an infant, were butchered; and the dwellings burned. Reports of other atrocities roused the jaded soldier to further duty. In April, 1842, Colonel Worth set out on an expedition to scour the swamps in the vicinity of St. John's river. On the 17th, it was ascertained that a party of Indians were concealed in the Palaklaklaha hammock; and at daybreak the troops, in order of battle, were in full march for that station. After a march of several miles, through mud and water, they reached the enemy's position. It was defended by a mass of foliage, seemingly impenetrable. The American fire was immediately returned with the war whoop and a volley of rifle-shots, but the troops pressed on steadily with the bayonet. The Indians defended themselves obsti-

nately, keeping up a continuous discharge of fire-arms. Seeing this, Worth attacked their rear, when a desperate struggle ensued. It was maintained until the troops gained the hammock, when the Indians separated into small parties, the better to effect their escape. They were followed, as far as the nature of the ground permitted, yet with indifferent success. Their camp, containing great quantities of meat and clothing, fell into the hands of the victors. In this affair the Indians lost two killed, three wounded, and one captured. The Americans, one killed and four wounded. Eleven days after, Halleek-Tuttenuggee, the chief who had commanded in the battle, visited Worth's camp, and expressed his desire for peace. Some time after, twenty-five of the most influential chiefs were invited to a feast, and made prisoners while partaking of it. Halleek was taken in the same manner. He contrived various stratagems to effect an escape; but, baffled in all, he consented to emigrate, and employed his influence with the Indians to persuade them to do the same. In July, he and his band sailed for Arkansas. Billy Bowlegs and other chiefs from the south came in during the following month, with full power from the Indians who remained there, to negotiate a treaty of peace. On the 14th, Colonel Worth announced that hostilities in the territory had ceased. The Indians surrendered or captured were to be sent to the West; and those who remained were temporarily assigned a portion of Florida, south of a specified boundary. Three days after, Worth resigned the command, and repaired to Washington to make final arrangements with the government. Colonel Vose assumed the command.

The Florida war was not yet ended. Even before Worth left the territory, hostilities had recommenced at San Pedro. The exasperation and chagrin of the inhabitants broke forth into loud murmurs against the government and the army. Colonel Vose was ordered to take the field immediately, and another series of

negotiations, skirmishes, butcheries, and hollow truces ensued. The details might well fatigue, but could not please or instruct the reader. It may be sufficient to know that in November, Colonel Worth, lately breveted brigadier-general, resumed the command; that a few more chiefs were captured, a few driven into the everglades, and a few decoyed and afterwards retained; that several hundred Indians, desolate, friendless, and heart-broken, were despatched to the West; that the military force was now reduced, and now augmented, according as the war-temperament dictated the thermometer-like policy; and that, November, 1843, has generally been regarded as the time when this whole affair, dignified by the appellation of a national contest, may be supposed to have been concluded. That fact was duly announced by General Worth in a despatch to the adjutant-general.

Since that time peace has, with few interruptions, been maintained. The Indian warriors now in Florida number, perhaps, one hundred and fifty. Recently some outrages were committed, which caused some anxiety least the war was about to be renewed; but it is believed that no plot for that purpose exists among the Indians.

THE END.

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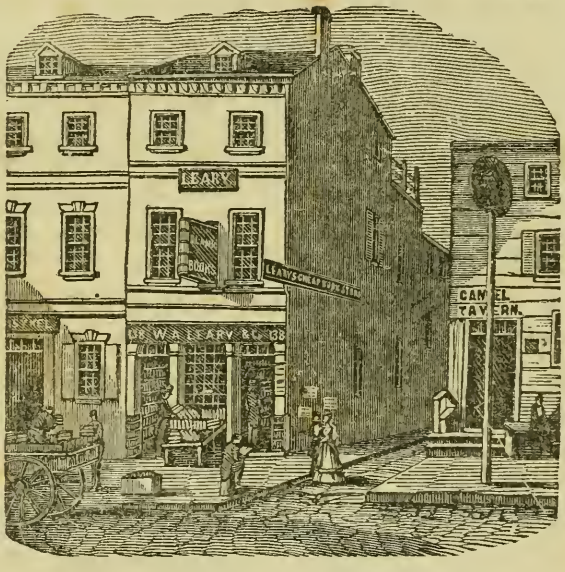
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